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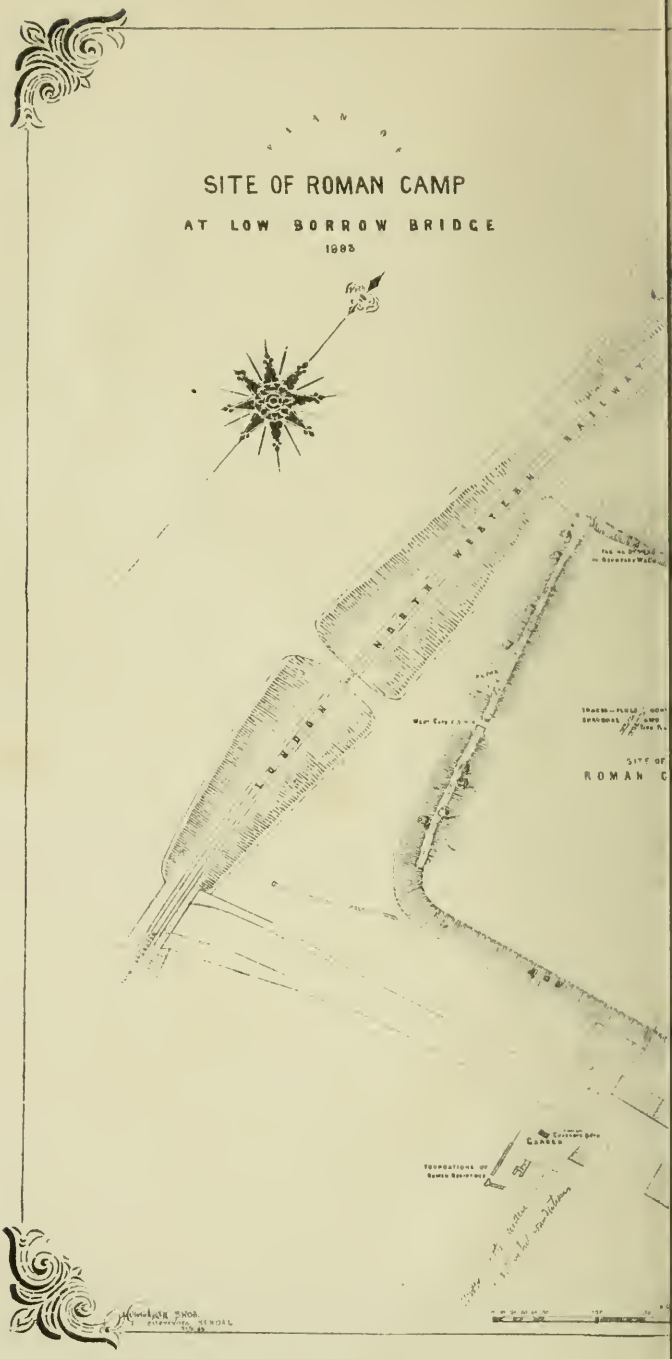

SITE OF ROMAN CAMP
AT LOW BORROW BRIDGE
1883
LONDON NORTH WESTERN RAILWAY
SITE OF
ROMAN C
CANDEN
FOUNDATIONS OF
ROMAN REPUBLICS

BURTON
BECK
RIVER LUNE
LOW BURDON BRIDGE
INN

Roman Camp Borrow Bridge
looking North.

Thos. V. Machell
1885

ART. I.—*The Roman Camp at Low Borrow Bridge. Report of the Committee appointed Aug.* 22, 1883; *laid before the Society at Alston, July* 10*th*, 1884.

IN the early days of its existence this Society applied to William Earl of Lonsdale for permission to excavate in the Roman Camp at Low Borrow Bridge. This was readily granted, but for some reason or other, nothing was done, and the matter slumbered, until the camp was visited by the Society on June 27th, 1883, when a paper by the editor on "The Roman Camp at Low Borrow Bridge"* was read, in which the writer pointed out the importance of the questions that might be solved, if inscribed stones should be found at Low Borrow Bridge, and of its bearing on the *crux vexata* of the 10th Iter. He further urged upon the Society the necessity of applying to the present Lord Lonsdale for renewed permission. An interesting paper by the Secretary on "The Roman road from Low Borrow Bridge camp to Kendal over Whinfell"† was also read, the result of researches made by himself and Mr. Thomas Long, who possesses an unrivalled knowledge as to the Roman roads, pack-horse tracks, and drift ways in Westmorland. As the result of the interest thus created, application was made to the present Lord Lonsdale, and the required permission was granted by him no less readily than by his grand uncle Earl William, the first President of this Society.

The work was entrusted to a committee of the following members: the president (Dr. Simpson), the editor (Mr. Ferguson), the Rev. T. Lees, Dr. Taylor, Mr. W. Nan-

* Transactions, vol. vii., p. 79.
† Ibid, vol. vii., p. 90.

son

son, and the Secretary. Arrangements were easily made with Mr. Day, the courteous tenant of the land, but owing to a sheep fair annually held in the camp, operations could not be commenced until the month of October, an unfortunate delay, as the setting in of wintry and stormy weather proved. The first meeting of the excavation committee was held at the camp on Tuesday, October 2nd, when arrangements for the work and for its supervision were made, and stakes placed for the guidance of the excavators. Work was commenced on Friday of the same week, and was continued until the end of November, two labourers being employed. The committee regret that they were not able to so constantly supervise the work, as they would have wished, but the distance members had to travel, the inconvenience of the train service, and the inclemency of the weather were much against a constant or regular attendance.

Before giving the results of their work, the committee would remind the Society that attention was first drawn to this camp by the late Mr. John Just in a paper on "the 10th Iter of Antoninus" read before the British Archæological Association in 1852.*

Mr. Just's account of this station is printed in these Transactions, vol. vii. pp. 80, 81, and need not again be reproduced.

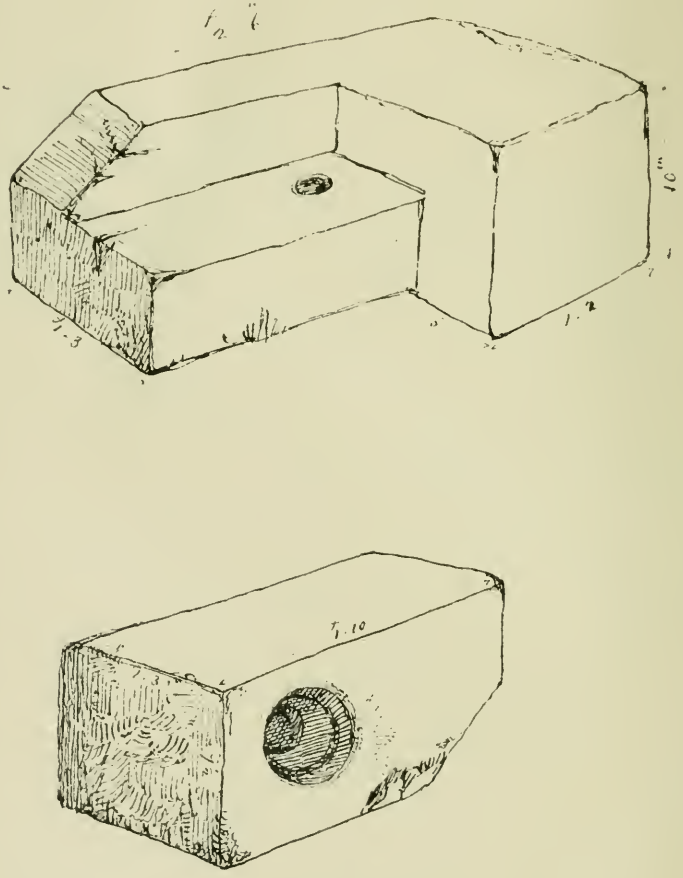
That account may be supplemented by the following memorandum, taken from some unpublished papers of Mr. Just, which were kindly placed in Canon Ware's hand for examination.

When I visited the place in the spring of 1827 the occupier of the land had commenced his work of modernising the ramparts. This offered a complete section of the remains, and shewed the process the Romans take in raising their walls. The foundation was secured by flags and the interior strongly cemented with lime run in among the interstices in a semi-fluid state. The lime had been burned

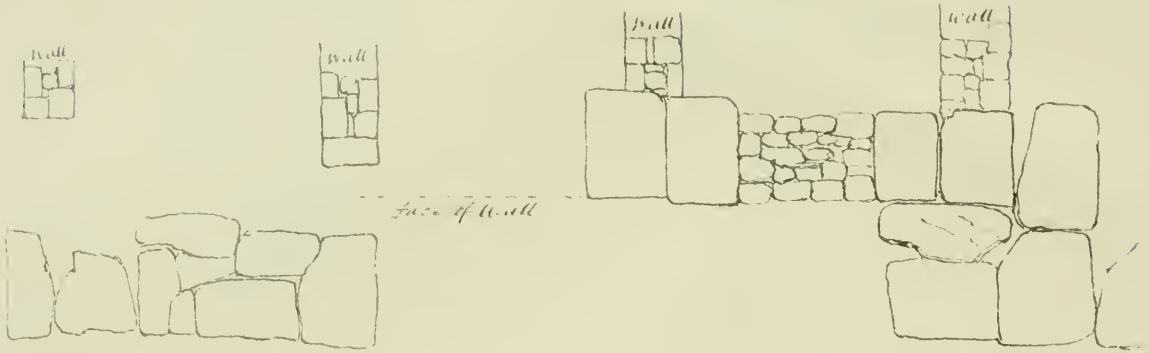
* British Archæological Journal, vol. viii., pp. 35, 40-43.

with

Foundations of Eastern Gateway
Roman Camp. Borrow Bridge.



Stones found at Eastern Gateway
Roman Camp. Borrow Bridge.



Scale of feet

Roman Camp Borrowbridge
plan of Eastern Gateway

with wood, as many pieces of charcoal were blended with it. The sites of the Prætorian and Decuman gates were very visible, as well as those through which the vicinal ways had entered. Since that time I understand a whole side has been cleared; the foundation of a gate discovered, and some remains found within the interior of the station.

The committee are much disappointed at the result of their excavations: they had hoped to have found inscribed stones or tiles, which might throw light on the name of the camp, and so help to elucidate the 10th Iter. The results in that direction have been nil.

Some trenches were dug in the interior of the camp, which is known to have been frequently under the plough. The soil proved to be impregnated with charcoal, bits of coarse pottery, tile, and soot, and the plough seems to have mashed up pavements and hypocausts *in nihilum*. The depth to the undisturbed clay from the surface was very little, and the plough seems to have torn through what remains may have existed. Search in the interior was therefore for the present abandoned, as it seemed likely to destroy more pasture than was financially prudent, and to promise little in the way of inscribed stones, towards which our quest was mainly directed.

The eastern rampart was next attacked; trenches were driven from the exterior, through the fallen rubbish, to the face of the wall. This was built on a foundation of large rough slabs of Silurian slate from the adjoining fells, laid in clay and projecting as a footing course beyond the wall. The wall was of the same local stone, very little dressed, if at all. In the centre of this side, where the gateway (the Decuman gateway of Mr. Just) should be, the upper and lower pivot stones of a gate were found lying about. But the jambs, lintels, and thresholds of the gateway have disappeared down to the very course of footing stones which alone remain, laid in clay. Fragments of freestone, which must have been brought from a distance were frequent. The dearth of freestone in the neighbourhood has been the motive

motive which led to the total destruction of this gate, whose lintels, jambs, and thresholds were (as proved by the western gate) of dressed freestone. This gate seems to have been double, and some of us were of opinion that the northern entrance had been closed by a wall of stone at a later period. If the foundation stones are all in situ, the gateway must have projected externally beyond the line of the wall, but, so complete has the destruction been, that it is impossible to be certain about this or anything else.

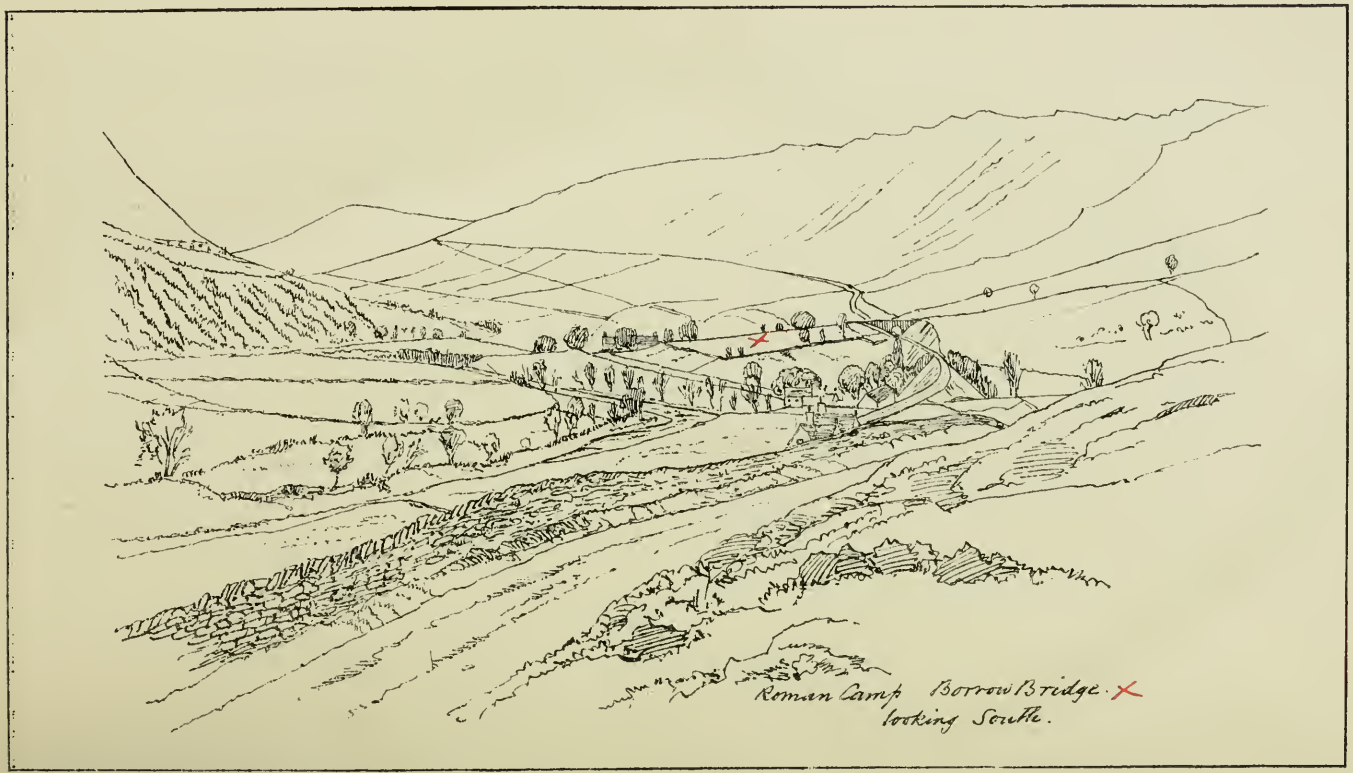
Trenches were dug across the southern rampart in various places; it proved to have been completely cleared away throughout its whole length down to the footing stones. This, we were told, was done in living memory, in 1826 or 1827; by aid of Mr. Just's memorandum which we have cited above, we fix the date as 1827.

The western rampart was similarly attacked, and the western or Prætorian gate was found: here some of the freestone of the gateway, showing the diamond broaching was found in situ, and we were able to ascertain that the width of the entrance was six feet three inches, but it is possible the gateway was double; this could not be ascertained, the wall having been here extensively spoiled during the making of the London and North Western railway to provide materials for a now ruined cottage, standing on the wall.

Nothing was attempted with regard to the north rampart, except that a trench was dug through the fallen rubbish to the face of the wall: a hedgerow and trees interposed difficulties, as also did the weather, the winter snow having begun.

We dug in the inn garden south of the camp, where the spade struck on something hard; this garden had long been supposed to be the site of the cemetery, but the walls of a building were found, and also a pavement of bright red concrete (pounded brick) with a raised border round it. This pavement measured six feet in width, and its length was

Western Gate of Roman Camp
Borrow Bridge


Roman Camp Borrow Bridge
looking South.

was ten feet seven inches: a hypocaust seemed to exist under it, but we hurriedly closed our excavations here for fear of the pavement being broken up by frost.

The grouting of the bridge across the Borrow still remains, hard and firm, but a coating of lichen has covered it, and it is difficult to distinguish from the living rock to which it is attached.

Nothing has been found to throw any light upon the 10th Iter: the tough intractable Silurian slate of the neighbouring fells does not readily lend itself to the mason's chisel, and the freestone must have been brought a toilsome journey, from Shap Fells, or Orton Low Moor, five and six miles off respectively. This local scarcity of freestone has led to its being carried away for building purposes, and, if inscribed stones exist at Low Borrow Bridge, they are probably in the walls of the inn or of its outbuildings, or of the buildings north of the Borrow. The roofing material used in the camp seems to have been slate, not tile, and the hope of finding lettered tiles thus becomes very small. We found no coins: no tesselated pavements: very little pottery: no miscellaneous relics: the camp has no suburbs: the walls shew repairs of various styles. Two coins have since been found in earth we turned up, but have not been submitted to us: we can only hear of three others ever having been found. All these facts indicate that the camp has been occupied at different times, but never for very long. Except in summer it is a bleak, cold, and dreary spot; no Roman would live there who could possibly get away; it would only be garrisoned in troublous times, and so long only as necessity dictated.

A careful plan of the camp, shewing the places where we dug has been prepared by Mr. A. Hoggarth, Land Surveyor, of Kendal, under the supervision of our Secretary: we are indebted to Canon Weston for drawings, which we submit to the Society: to Canon Ware for Mr. Just's papers,

papers, and to the Rev. Thomas Lees and Mr. A. Barnes-Moss for assistance in superintending the work. Much annoyance was caused by the appearance in several papers and in the "Antiquary" Magazine for January of an unauthorised report of our proceedings, containing many erroneous statements: by the courtesy of the editor of the Antiquary a corrected account by the editor of our Transactions appeared in the Antiquary for February.

ART II.—*Alston.* BY THE REV. W. NALL, M.A.

Read at that place, July 10th, 1884.

THE wealth which in bygone days made the town of Alston and the adjacent villages of Nenthead and Garrigill was mainly derived from lead mines. The district of Alston Moor is traversed from east to west, and from north to south by a number of mineral veins, which in their original state, that is before the discovery of them by civilised man, contained rich deposits of lead ore. The extraction of this ore from the veins by digging and blasting, the separation of it from worthless matter by washing, and the reduction of it to the metallic state by smelting and refining, constitute the industry called lead-mining, probably the most ancient, certainly the most important industry in Alston Moor. It must not, however, be supposed that all these processes were in operation in very early times. There would be no need for blasting when a supply of lead ore sufficient to meet the demand could be obtained from the beds of the Tyne and its tributary streams; and there could be no means for refining in a smelting furnace which consisted of a pile of stones and a log fire. Among the ancient customs of Alston Moor there was one, mentioned by Mr. Westgarth Forster in his chapter on the "Discovery of Mines," which throws some light on the early history of lead-mining. It was called the custom of *shoading*, from the circumstance that at suitable times in the year the miners went a-shoading, that is, went in search of *shoad*. Lead ores were then classified by miners as *float* ore and *shoad* ore, or *float* and *shoad*, the float consisting of pieces which were much water worn, the shoad of pieces slightly, or not at all worn, though discoloured by exposure to the air. The discovery of shoad was regarded as an indication of the existence of a mineral vein in the neighbourhood, its angular condition being

being regarded as a proof that it had not long been exposed to the action of air and water. We learn also from Forster that the primitive smelting furnace consisted of a "pile of stones erected on the western brow of some hill," and that the fuel for the fire was obtained from the neighbouring forest, the hill, upon which this rude kind of furnace was built, being known as the Bole or Bayle Hill, and the place where the fuel was obtained being called the "Hag Hill or Hag bank." Here we trace the origin of the Bayles, and Bayle hills of Cumberland, Northumberland, Durham, and Derbyshire, and the Hags and Hag banks of Alston Moor. The forests, which once covered the sides of the Northern Pennines, have completely disappeared, but their names still survive. In Alston Moor we hear of Gilderdale forest, in Teesdale we hear of the forest of Teesdale, and in Weardale of the forest of Weardale. When peat was extensively used as fuel the remains of those ancient forests were frequently dug up at the peat castings. We infer from the passages just cited from Westgarth Forster that in ancient times lead mining in this district at least, consisted of two very simple operations—the picking, to use a mining expression—of pieces of float and shoad out of the beds of the streams, and the smelting of the ore in an ordinary wood fire. The first lead mine took the form of a shallow pit, or trench, in a bed of gravel, if the term mine can be applied to such a work.

When the deposits of float and shoad were somewhat exhausted the workmen extended their operations to the banks of the streams and the slopes of the hills. They sank deeper pits and cut longer trenches, partly with the view of finding more shoad, partly for the purpose of discovering mineral veins. Thus stage by stage, as time proceeded, lead mining became an important industry. The shallow pit, put down in the first instance for the purpose of exploring the gravel and clay, was afterwards enlarged and sunk deeper for the purpose of trying the veins

veins in the stratified rocks. To this larger and deeper pit the term *shaft* was applied. The trench was pushed forward into the sides of the hills in a soft stratum of shale, if one was available, otherwise in a stratum of sandstone or limestone. To that portion of the trench which was driven underneath the hill the term *level* was applied. Before the invention of gunpowder, and the application of it to the purpose of blasting, the rocks were split asunder by the process of *stouping*. A shallow hole having been drilled in a stratum of rock a wooden wedge was first driven tightly into it with a heavy hammer. A wedge of steel was then driven into the wood. This simple method of rending the rocks was not invented by lead miners. It was in use three thousand years ago in Syria and Egypt, and at a later period in Greece and Italy. The material thus rent from the rocks by the *mell* and the wedge was next brought to the surface. From the bottom of the shaft it was raised by means of the windlass and *kibble*; from the *forehead* of the level it was conveyed to the day by means of a wooden railroad. The motive power in both cases was supplied by the workmen. During the last century the *whimsey* or great shaft was constructed, and having been fitted with a suitable windlass the horse took the place of man at the handle. In recent times the hydraulic engine, the invention of Sir William Armstrong, and the steam engine, have been substituted for the old windlass.

Great improvements have also been made in the *level*. It has also been enlarged, and, in some mines, pushed forward to a great distance. Iron rails and iron waggons have taken the places of the old wooden rails and waggons, and the horse has been trained to travel underground by the feeble light of a dip. The climax with respect to levels was reached in Alston Moor with the construction of the one called the Nent Force Level. This truly gigantic work was designed by the celebrated Smeaton, the engineer of the Eddystone Lighthouse, and was carried out by the Com-

missioners

missioners of the Greenwich Hospital at a cost of £90,000. It is nine feet high by nine in width, and is nearly five miles in length. It is not the longest level in the north of England, the Blackett Level in East Allendale exceeding it by two miles. It was intended to serve the double purpose of a drain for the Nenthead mines and of a *trial*, as the miners would say, for discovering lead ore deposits. All other levels have some ascent, the larger portion of this at Nent Force has none. It is perfectly true, *dead* the miners would say, for a distance of three miles. Yet the geologist would say that it gains 240 feet in depth in this distance, since its mouth is immediately underneath the Scar Limestone (not the Great Scar Limestone, be it observed) whilst its *forehead* at Nentsberry Hags, three miles up the dale, is in the Tynebottom Plate. This immense fall is due to two causes—the *rise* in the strata and the *throw* of the several mineral veins which are traversed by it. Among these mineral veins is the famous Hudgill Burn vein, which at one time yielded an immense quantity of lead ore, and suddenly enriched all who had an interest in it. The ore was not found at the *random*, that is to say, at the same depth as the level, but much nearer the surface. There are no rails in the Nent Force Level, but there is, instead, four feet of water. The workmen who made it sailed in and out, taking in with them tools and other mining requisites, and bringing back the material which they had managed to dig out of the forehead. This level is an object of interest to geologists and miners, and of curiosity to tourists.

The largest shaft in Alston Moor is the one on Middle Fell, between the villages of Nenthead and Garrigill, which is said to measure 100 fathoms, or 200 yards in perpendicular depth.

This preliminary sketch of the origin and growth of lead-mining is necessary to the right understanding of the brief history of the industry which I now propose to give.

Lead

Lead mining, in the form of shoading, was probably carried on for many centuries before the opening of any of our existing mines. The circumstances now to be referred to, though not of themselves conclusive on the point, yet go a long way towards proving that the Romans carried on lead mining during their long stay in this district. They were skilful miners, and well able, if they had thought it expedient, to have executed any kind of mining work, whether it were the driving of a level, or the sinking of a shaft.

The military works executed by them in this country sufficiently attest their skill in the art of excavation. Did they apply that skill to the discovery of lead-ore? They seem to have done so in some parts of England, for we have in the British Museum pigs of lead stamped with the names of the Emperors Hadrian and Domitian. Is there then any probability that they mined in Alston Moor? We think there is. We think it highly improbable either that they should have overlooked or neglected the mineral wealth of a district in which they occupied such a station as the one at Whitley, and to which they had so splendid a road as the Maiden Way. A local writer thought it highly probable that the Maiden Way was made partly, at least, with the view of protecting the mines and of transporting the ores.

When we consider the extent of the ruins at Whitley, which cover nine acres—the character of the remains found there, among which are portions of a Roman sudatory, or bath house, Roman altars, pieces of statuary, pottery, querns, or hand mills, but especially fragments of leaden pipe, pieces of calcareous and fluor spar, and of lead ore; and, when we further consider that the Maiden Way is not a mere bridle-path, but a broad road, paved to the depth of three feet with large blocks of stone, and that in its course from the Roman station at Kirkbythore, in Westmorland, to that at Caervorran, in the parish of Haltwhistle, it crosses

crosses the bearings of several mineral veins, we feel disposed to indorse the opinion of our local writers, Mr. W. Bainbridge and Mr. Thos. Sopwith, that the Romans probably worked this mining field. If such were the case they would naturally endeavour to protect the miners, and they could do that most effectually by placing a cohort at Whitley, in the large British camp they found existing there, with outposts at Hall Hill and Tynehead. Whether or not the Romans were acquainted with the *Virgula Divina*, or magic rod, which at one time was supposed to possess the power of discovering the presence of metalliferous ores in the earth, we do not know.

The Romans finally withdrew from Britain about the year 425 A.D. Hodgson, the historian of Northumberland, fixes upon this year as the date of their withdrawal from this district. The long period which intervenes between their withdrawal and the reign of Henry I., is, as respects Alston Moor, almost a blank. Towards the latter end of this reign, we emerge from the period of legend and fable, and enter upon the real, though very fragmentary history of Alston Moor. The earliest piece of authentic information which we have is contained in the Pipe Roll of 31st Henry I., 1130-1. It is an account of certain moneys which were due to the King from the burgesses of Carlisle, in respect of a certain mine, called Carlisle Silver Mine, which was held by them from the King, under lease. Subsequent accounts enable us to identify the so-called silver mine of Carlisle with the lead-mines of Alston. Though these mines are really lead-mines, yet, it is a fact that they yield a small quantity of silver. The ore contains silver in combination with the lead, in the proportion of about ten ounces of silver to one ton of lead. Hodgson informs us that the Northumberland Pipe Roll for 1226 contains a charge of £2,154 for the old rent of the silver mine at Carlisle, and this charge is carried forward annually through the whole of that reign, that is, to 1272. The

Alston

Alston mines must, at that time, have been very rich, for £2,154 of that age represents the large sum of £10,000 of our money. Assuming that the lessees realised one-half of that sum for themselves, and paid a like amount in wages to their workmen and for mining apparatus—a moderate estimate of their expenditure—the annual produce of the mines will be represented by the sum of £20,000. The total rental of the Alston Moor estates, which were then held under lease by Nicholas Vipont, was £20—equal to £100 of our money—or only about 1-200th part of the annual value of the mines. We have the authority of Hume for stating that the annual revenue of the Crown in the reign of Henry III. was less than 60,000 marks, or £40,000, a sum which was less than double the value of the ore raised in the Alston mines. The facts just cited are sufficient also to account for the interest which the Kings of England took in the lead mines, and for the privileges which they granted to the miners. These privileges are gone into by Hodgson, and need not be reproduced here ; the charter was frequently renewed.

Hodgson infers from the wording of the charter that the King had no other mine in Cumberland, than that of Alston. He also tells us that among the other liberties which the miners enjoyed was one which gave serious trouble to the landowners and farmers. They were allowed to cut down the trees, and to use the wood in the mines. Such a liberty as this was a fruitful source of disputes. A case of dispute is instanced by Hodgson—"In the year 1290, Patric of the Gill, and other twenty-six miners were indicted by Henry Whitby, and Joan his wife, for cutting down their trees at Alston, by force of arms, and carrying them away." The defence set up by the miners was that they enjoyed the privilege, granted to them by their lord the King, of cutting down the wood, to whomsoever it might belong, which was nearest to the silver vein, and of taking as much of it as they pleased, to roast and smelt the ore,

ore, to build and to hedge, to give to the agents in lieu of wages, and to the rich in order that they might distribute it among the poor. They also affirmed that the lords of the woods had no right, after that they (the miners) had begun the work of cutting down, to sell or give away any of it, excepting for reasonable needs, and that they had enjoyed the liberty from immemorial time. Edward III., in 1350, wishing to ascertain what were the liberties, customs, and immunities which the miners of Alston and their predecessors had enjoyed, commissioned Thomas de Seton and John de Mowbray to institute an inquiry; who thereupon empanelled a jury at Penrith for that purpose. The jury found that the miners dwelt together in their *Shelis*, and had the liberty of choosing from among themselves one coroner and one bailiff, who was called the King's sergeant. The coroner had cognizance of all pleas concerning felonies, debts, and all other matters concerning themselves, and had the power of determining cases. The bailiff was empowered to enforce the decisions of the coroner. There was, however, a proviso to the effect that the miners ceased to enjoy their privileges when they ceased to dwell together in *Shelis*. The word *Shelis* is obviously the root of the name *Shieling* or *Shielding*, or *Shield*, which occurs so frequently in Alston Moor, as, for instance, in Fore Shield, Lovelady Shield, Crag Shield, and Shield Hill. Some time previously to the year 1359, the Carlisle lessees had either surrendered or forfeited their rights in the mines, for a German, named Tilman, was then in possession of them. Hodgson conjectures that the mines had, previously to this date, been worked by the Germans. There is a strong probability that Tilman brought over with him a colony of his own countrymen and settled them in Alston Moor. Five centuries of leadmining, and intermarriage with the native stock, have, we think, not entirely obliterated in their descendants all traces of their origin. The Alstonians are still somewhat tall in stature and large in limb, and

and they are also, we think, fairer in complexion than the people of West Cumberland. The labouring classes of Alston Moor are distinguished for their thrift, cleanliness, and self-respect, virtues in which the Germans excel. They, out of their scanty means, manage—though strangers cannot understand how—to dress respectably, keep clean houses and bright firesides.

The change of lessees was probably followed by a change of market, the Germans sending their lead, or lead-ore, by way of Stanhope or Hexham, to Newcastle, whence it was shipped to the Continent. Alston was thus separated from Carlisle and brought into close connection with Newcastle —a connection which has never since been broken. In 1414, the mines came into the possession of William Stapleton. In 1468, Edward IV. granted to Richard, Earl of Warwick, and John, Duke of Northumberland, and others, all his mines of gold and silver; and again on March 23rd, 1475, the King granted to his brother, the Duke of Gloucester, Henry, Earl of Northumberland, and others, the mine of Fletchers. This "old mine of Fletchers, or Fletcheras, was situated near Gerrard's Gill, now called Garrigill." It might with perfect propriety have been called the "Old Man of Fletchers," the expression "Old Man" being generally applied by miners to an old working. If a miner in driving a level, or a drift, or in cutting a cross-cut, or in putting up a rise, or in sinking a sump, or in taking up a stoup, or in breaking down a heading, suddenly opens into an old working, he tells his friends that he has met with the Old Man.

Towards the end of the sixteenth century, the Alston estates, together with the mines, became the property of the Hyltons of Hylton Castle, Sunderland. In 1621, Hylton, the Lord of the Manor, being desirous of providing his daughter with a marriage portion, raised the requisite sum by granting leases for 1,000 years of the several tenements upon his Alston estates, reserving to his family the right

right of working the lead and other mines on payment of damages to the lessees. His successor, finding that the mines were not remunerative, and supposing that they were exhausted, sold the property for £1,500 to the Radcliffes of Dilston. The story of the rebellion of 1715, and of the forfeiture to the Crown of his estates by James Radcliffe, Earl of Derwentwater, is well known, and does not need to be repeated here. In 1734, the Derwentwater estates were settled upon the Greenwich Hospital, to which they now belong.

A history of lead-mining during the last century and a half, which should embrace an account of the veins discovered and of the wealth found in them—of the improvements made on the washing floor and in the smelting house, of the companies formed, and of the men who have risen to distinction in connection with mining—of the changes wrought in the condition of the miners and in the appearance of this dale, would furnish matter enough for a small volume. I do not propose to do more than mention a few of the more important facts. After the settlement of the Alston estates upon the Greenwich Hospital, Adam Wilkinson of Nentsbury Hall became the lessee of the Nenthead Mines, and the Earl of Carlisle of the Garrigill Mines. The latter speculation cannot have been fortunate, for the earl soon abandoned the Garrigill Mines. The mines then opened in Garrigill were those known by the names of Browngill, Tyne Bottom, and Fletcheras. The lease was taken up by a Derbyshire gentleman named Gilbert. He also soon surrendered it.

Whilst these changes were taking place a company was being formed which was destined to develope the mineral resources of Teesdale and Alston to an extent hitherto unknown. A north-country Quakeress, when attending a meeting of that religious body in London, called the attention of the gentlemen present to the great need of employment in the mining dales of the North of England, and expressed

expressed her belief that those mines abounded in lead ore, which, on being discovered, would not only give employment to the people, but be a source of wealth to their employers. She appealed alike to their philanthrophy and to the spirit of commercial enterprise which she believed animated them. A company was formed, which was afterwards known as the London Lead Company. The attention of the directors was not immediately turned towards Alston Moor. They commenced operations elsewhere—apparently in Teesdale. When, however, Adam Wilkinson surrendered the lease of the Nenthead mines, and Mr. Gilbert the lease of the Garrigill Mines, the London Lead Company took up the abandoned leases, and carried on the mines with varying success until 1882, when the directors sold their interest in Alston Moor to the Nenthead and Tynedale Lead and Zinc Company. The works of this Quaker or London Company were always conducted with a deep regard for the physical and moral well-being of their workpeople. The directors provided free education for the young, medical attendance for the sick, and established a fund for the relief of the disabled. Other companies have developed the resources of those portions of the Greenwich Hospital estates, which were not occupied by the London Company.

Lead ore does not occur in the form of strata like coal ; neither is it diffused through reefs of primary rock in the form of particles like gold. It is found in mineral veins in the form of deposits. Experience has shown that deposits of ore are not only irregular in the manner of their occurrence, but that they vary greatly in extent. A succession of deposits extending to a long distance, and containing an immense quantity of ore has been found in some veins ; in other veins only one deposit has been discovered, whilst many veins have yielded nothing in return for the money expended in trying them. There is no science of lead-mining. The saying that " It is only by trying the ground that

that ore is found," is as true to-day as ever it was. Our great grandfathers knew almost as much about lead-mining as we know. They knew that east and west veins are more productive than north and south veins; that the most productive veins have little throw; that rich deposits of ore are sometimes found at the points where veins cross each other, or towards which they converge; and that the limestones are the most productive strata. We know little more. The most intelligent miner amongst us cannot tell whether or not any particular vein of average strength and moderate throw will prove remunerative. His knowledge of it amounts to probability, not to a certainty. It may or may not contain ore in the great limestone. Hence it is that so many fortunes have been made and so many lost in lead-mining, that poor men have been suddenly enriched, and rich men impoverished. Most of the rich deposits of ore were "finds." Until they were actually discovered no one was aware of their existence. Many stories might be told of the way in which trials have been made, and abandoned as abortive by one company, which, on being resumed by another company, have immediately proven to be very profitable. The first company were within a yard, or a fathom, of the deposit, but not being aware of their proximity to a mass of wealth which would have enriched every shareholder, they abandoned the mine in despair after spending all their capital. For a while the mine stood still. Then operations were resumed by another company and the deposit was discovered. This uncertainty about lead-mining is not an unmixed evil; we are not sure whether it an evil at all, but a blessing in disguise. If the deposits of ore which have been dug out of the Alston Moor mines had occurred in regular order, and according to any known law, they would have been exhausted long ago. There would have been a short period of great prosperity in the mining districts of Alston, Weardale, and Teesdale, followed by a complete and permanent collapse of

of the lead-mining industry, and there would have been less scope for the exercise of skill and enterprise. It is undoubtedly true that lead-mining is a hazardous speculation for capitalists; but it is equally true that the average rate of interest upon the capital invested has hitherto been as high as the average rate upon the capital invested in the other industries of this country.

The richest lead mine in proportion to its extent which has been discovered in Alston Moor was the one at Hudgill Burn. In one year eighty workmen raised 12,000 bings of ore in this mine, which, at £4 10s. per bing—a moderate price for the time—was worth £54,000. The richest vein is the one known as the Rampgill vein. In the Greenwich Hospital manor this vein has yielded 300,000 bings of ore, besides a large quantity in its eastward course through Mr. Beaumont's property. The total value of the ore obtained from the Rampgill vein has probably fallen very little short of £2,000,000.

In 1611 the Alston mines were surveyed and reported to be almost exhausted. But in 1767 the yield of ore was larger than it had ever been before, amounting to 24,500 bings, which were sold for £77,160.

Of the inventions for facilitating the washing of lead ores, and of the discoveries in the metallurgy of lead, we shall mention only the crushing mill and the Pattinson process. The crushing of lead ore was formerly done with the *hand-bucker*—a tool which was made of a piece of iron, oblong in shape, measuring about four inches in length, and three inches in breadth, by three-quarters of an inch in thickness, and weighing from five to seven pounds. The under surface of the oblong was plated with steel; upon the upper surface was fixed an eye, into which the shaft or handle was fitted. This tool was wielded by boys of ten to fifteen years of age. A quantity of *pickings*—mixed pieces of ore, so called because they were picked out of the grate by the *washer-boys*—having been placed upon the *knockstone*, a boy

boy who stood in front of the stone crushed them with his *bucker*. The crushing is now done by a machine called the *grinder* or *crushing mill*. There is no need to describe it, since most of you are acquainted with it. We do not know who invented this mill, but we know that it was introduced into Alston Moor from the Lake district by Mr. Utrick Walton. Only those who have seen boys at work with the *bucker*, slowly and painfully reducing the *pickings* —some of which were very hard—to the consistency of fine gravel or sand, can fully appreciate the benefit conferred upon miners by the invention of the *crushing mill*. A great saving of time and hard labour has been effected by this and other improvements in washing apparatus. The work which formerly required the labour of two men and eighteen boys, can now be done by two men and four boys.

In 1829, Mr. Hugh Lee Pattinson, a native of Alston, discovered the process for desilverising lead which is now known throughout the civilised world as the Pattinson process. By the old process the separation of the silver from the lead was very imperfectly done ; by the new, or Pattinson process, the separation is almost perfect, the quantity of silver left in the lead being very minute indeed. The new process is much quicker than the old, and therefore, less expensive. Formerly, if the proportion of silver in combination with one ton of lead was less than eight ounces it would not repay the cost of extraction. Hence the reason why many of the old smelting houses were without refining apparatus, no attempt being then made to refine a large proportion of the lead. But now, if the proportion of silver to lead is as much as two ounces of the former to one ton of the latter the refining can be done with profit. These facts show the superiority of the Pattinson process over the one formerly in use.

ART. III.—*Why Alston is in the Diocese of Durham, and in the County of Cumberland.* By R. S. FERGUSON, F.S.A.

Read at that place, July 10th, 1884.

THE parish of Alston is situate, locally, in the Franchise of Tindale; it is the most southerly parish of the deanery of Corbridge, once part of the diocese of Durham; but now, since 1882, part of the bishopric of Newcastle. It lies on the eastern water-shed of England, and its rivers, the Nent, the Ale, the Blackburn, the Gilderdale-burn, and the South Tyne pour their waters into the North Sea. and not into the Solway Frith, as do the rivers of the rest of Cumberland: it lies, where I wish Carlisle did, at the back of the Helm Wind: its inhabitants speak a different language from what we do in the rest of Cumberland—to give but one instance,—what we call a *beck* they call a *burn*, and you may note on the Ordnance map of our route to-morrow that the streams running east from Hartside Fell, are all *burns:* these running west are all *becks:* its parish church is dedicated to a Saint to whom no church in the diocese of Carlisle is dedicated, viz: to S. Augustine: it naturally, that is by all the laws of geography, belongs to the county of Northumberland, from which county alone is it accessible without crossing a mountain pass. Yet the parish of Alston is part of the county of Cumberland, to which it has access only over a *col*, whose summit, as we shall painfully learn to-morrow, is 1,900 feet above the level of the sea.

This is no modern anomaly: had it been a thing of yesterday, done by a modern act of Parliament, I might have groaned, but I should not have wondered at it, or at anything in these days, when new bishops and new archdeacons grow up, like mushrooms, in districts defined by a railway

railway time table, to the utter confounding of ancient historical boundaries and ancient historical associations! But this is a time honoured anomaly: in 1292, at a trial at Carlisle, there was produced proof that William de Saham and John de Metingham, justices itinerant, with the sheriffs of Cumberland and Westmorland, had made a perambulation between Aldeneston and Tynedale, and found by the oaths of knights and other good men that the manor moor and waste of Aldeneston, were wholly in Cumberland. The Valor Ecclesiasticus of Pope Nicholaus IV., made in 1291, shows that Alston was then in the diocese of Durham. So we thus have proof that in the 13th century, or 600 years ago, there prevailed this same anomalous condition of things that exists to this day. In seeking to elucidate its origin, we must go into somewhat obscure questions, relating to the early history of the Borders.

To avoid prolixity and the retelling of an oft told tale, I will, for this evening, assume that this Society is a learned one, and that its members have availed themselves of the many opportunities which have been presented to them of becoming acquainted with their early history.

On the dismemberment of the great kingdom of Northumbria by the Danes, in the 9th century, Carlisle and the district round it, or Carliol, fell neither to English nor Danish rule. It turns up incorporated with Strathclyde proper, and with Galloway under the name of Cumbria. In 924 occurred the events which brought about the *Commendation to England of Scotland and Strathclyde*, when not only Northumbria, including the Lothians but the Scots and Picts of Scotland, and the Britons of Cumbria chose Edward the King of the English, to be "*Father* and *Overlord*." In 945, Dunmail, "the last king of rocky Cumbria" fell out with his overlord, Eadmund the Magnificent, king of the English, who at once took his kingdom from him and granted it, in 945, to Malcolm I., king of Scotland, as a feudal benefice in the strictest sense. Until Cumbria was dismembered,

dismembered, it continued in the possession of the royal line of Scotland, held as a fief under the English king, either by the king of Scotland himself, or by a near relation, usually by the *Tanist* or proximate heir.

For many years nothing is on record relating to Cumbria, except that in A.D. 1000 it was laid waste by the English. In the middle of the 11th century both Cumbria and Strathclyde were in the hands of Malcolm Caenmore, but about 1070 Gospatrick, Earl of Northumberland, severed the district of Carlisle, or all Cumbria south of the Solway, from Malcolm's dominions, and handed it over to Dolphin, supposed to be the Earl's son. In 1092 the Red King came north with a large army, drove out Dolphin, and made the district of Carlisle part of the English kingdom. Henry I. made it an English bishopric and an English earldom, but he reassumed the earldom, and then split the earldom of Carleolum, the English barony of Kendal, and the strip that intervened between them, into two counties, Carliol and Westmorland, and these two counties are accounted for by their sheriffs, in the oldest Pipe Roll known,—the solitary one of 31 Henry I [1130-1]. In this Pipe Roll the burgesses of Carlisle render an account into the Exchequer of 100s. for the old rent of the silver mine; and in the same year William the son of Hildret, the sheriff of Carlisle, or Carliol, also accounts to the Exchequer for the rent of the silver mine for "this past year." That this silver mine was at Alston is proved by subsequent records which show that in the books of the Exchequer the silver mine at Alston, and those in the vicinity, stood as the *Silver Mines of Carlisle*, a nomenclature which would naturally arise through the rent being accounted for by Carlisle officials.

We thus have, from the very earliest time of his making an appearance in history, the sheriff of Carleol, or Cumberland, dealing with the rents of the mine at Alston, and Alston appears ever since to have been part of this county.

Was

Was then Alston part of the British kingdom of Cumbria? No: positive evidence exists that it was not. When Edward I. was considering his claims upon Scotland, he directed the various religious houses throughout the kingdom to furnish him with all the information in their possession, historical or documentary, bearing on the ancient relations between England and Scotland. Among the returns from the monastery of Carlisle is the following statement as to the boundaries of the kingdom of Cumbria at the time of its dismemberment *circa* 1070. *That district was called Cumbria, which is now included in the bishoprics of Carlisle, Glasgow, and Whitherne, together with the country between the bishopric of Carlisle and the river Duddon.* As there is no pretence for saying that Alston was ever in the bishopric of Carlisle, we have here positive proof that it never was part of the British kingdom of Cumbria, which was dismembered in 1070. Yet in 1130-1, or sixty years later, we find the sheriff of Carliolum, or Cumberland, dealing with its revenues, or at any rate with the revenues of its mines.

How comes this? We must turn our attention to the district in which Alston is geographically and ecclesiastically situate; the district on the eastern side of the great water-shed, while Cumbria was on the western. In 1130-1 that district was not, as now, in the county of Northumberland: between the counties of Cumberland and Northumberland there then intervened the franchises of Tyndale and of Hexham, in which the chief lords had all taxes and civil jurisdiction, and the King of England's writs could not run within them. The franchise of Hexham belonged to the Archbishop of York; with it we have nothing to do, but it was not made part of the county of Northumberland until 1572. The franchise of Tyndale [comprising the parishes of Alston, Knaresdale, Kirkhaugh, Whitfield, Simonburn, and part of Haltwhistle] owned the king of Scotland for its chief lord, who held it of the English crown

crown; it was not made part of the county of Northumberland until 1495. For the origin and history of the franchise, and how the king of Scotland came to own estates and seignorial rights in England, I must refer you to Hodgson's Northumberland; but the king of Scotland held this, not as a part of his kingdom of Scotland, but as an estate in England, and he did homage for it to the king of England; and, although within it the king of Scotland exercised every other royal prerogative, the title of the crown of England was still paramount as regarded the ores impregnated with precious metal.*

The position seems curious, but we can easily imagine the Queen of England having private family estates and seigniories in Germany, in which the Emperor of Germany might own the mines, and in respect of which she might be sued in the German courts.

From the *Placito de quo warranto* we find that in 1280, Robert de Veteripont, the holder of the manor of Aldeneston was called upon to prove his title, and the king of Scotland was also called upon to show why he claimed diverse liberties in the manor of Aldeneston, which is *de antiquo dominico corone domini regis [Angliæ] infra comitatum suum Cumbriæ.* The king of Scotland pleaded he was entitled to these liberties as royal prerogatives by immemorial use, but produced no documentary evidence, and the jury declared Robert de Veteripont an intruder. Robert must have died soon after this, for Edward I., in 1282, made the following grant of the manor to his son Nicholas de Veteripont.

Rot. Pat., 10 Edw. 1., m.9. Pro Nicholo de Veteriponte de manerio de Aldeneston Rex omnibus, &c., salutem. Sciatis quod cum nos in *curia nostra* coram nobis per judicium ejusdem curiæ nostræ recuperassemus versus Robertum de Veteriponte manerium de Al-

* Mr. Hodgson thinks the kings of Scotland may have acquired these estates by the marriage of David the First with Maud, daughter of Waltheof, son of Siward, Earl of Northumberland in the time of Edward the Confessor.

deneston

deneston cum pertinentiis *ut de comitatu nostro Cumbriæ*. Nos ad instantiam dilecti nepotis nostri Alexandri, filii magnifici principis Alexandri regis Scotiæ illustris prædictum manerium cum pertinentiis Nicholao filio et hæredi prædicti Roberti concessimus habendum et tenendum sibi et hæredibus suis *de prædicto domino rege Scotiæ* et heredibus suis in perpetuum per servitia inde debita et consueta. Salvis nobis et hæredibus nostris *minera de Aldeneston, minariis, et libertate eorundem mineræ et minariorum*, quæ nobis et hæredibus nostris plenarie retinuemus. Et volumus et concedimus pro nobis et hæredibus nostris, quod manerium prædictum de cetero sit de libertate dicti domini regis de Tindale. *Ita quod minarii ejusdem mineræ nobis et hæredibus nostris respondeant de minera illa sicut hactenus respondere consueverunt.* In cujus, &c., teste rege apud Cestr,' iij die Julii.

Spite of this grant, Nicholas de Veteripont had to stand, in 1292, a new trial at Carlisle, under a *quo warranto*, and the proceedings, which are lengthy on the record, resulted unfavourably for him, but the king ordered the judgment to be reversed, and commanded the sheriff of Cumberland to put Nicholas in possession of the manor.

The wording of the grant of 1282 is peculiar. The Crown is stated to have recovered the manor of Aldeneston and the pertinencies as of our county of Cumberland. It is granted to Nicholas "to hold to *himself and his heirs* of the foresaid lord, the king of Scotland, reserving to us (i.e. the king of England) and our heirs the mine of Aldeneston the miners and the liberty of the same mine and miners which we have retained for ourselves and our heirs in as full a manner as possible. And we will and grant for us and our heirs that the said manor for the future shall be held of the franchise of Tindale of the said lord the king of Scotland."

Thus we get what the royal prerogative reserved by the crown of England was, viz.: the mine of Alston, the miners, and the liberty of the mine and miners, which would be a district within the manor of Aldeneston, in which neither the king of Scotland nor his subfeudatory had any rights.

From

From the following extract from the *Placita de quo warranto* we learn somewhat as to the liberties claimed by the miners. They claimed that the justices of the king in their *iter* or circuit through Cumberland should go to Arneshowe in Aldeneston to hold pleas of the crown touching the said mine; but the right seems to have fallen into disuse. No doubt for fiscal reasons the judges may have gone at some time or other.

Mineratores de Minera de Aldeneston sumoniti fuerunt ad respondendum domino Regi de placito quo warranto clamant quod justiciarii domini Regis itinerantes in comitatu isto veniant apud Arneshow in Aldeneston ad placita Corone domini Regis mineram prædicam tangencia illuc placitanda sine licencia et voluntate domini Regis et progenitorum suorum Regum Angliæ, &c.

Et Mineratores veniunt et dicunt quod a tempore quo justicarii primo inceperunt itinerare in partibus istis ipsi et omnes predecessores sui mineratores ejusdem minere semper usi sunt hujusmodi libertate absque aliqua temporis interruptione. Et hoc petunt quod inquiratur per patriam. Et Wilhelmus Inge pro domini rege similiter. Ideo fiat inde jura, &c. Nichil hic de jura quia totaliter amiserunt libertatem suam ad placita de Corona.

It appears from other records that the miners paid the king 10 marks annually for their liberties. What these liberties were we learn partly from an account in Coke's Institutes, as to "the liberties of the silver mine of Aldeneston" by which it appears that in Michaelmas term 1290 Patric-Of-the-Gite and 26 other miners at Aldeneston were empleaded by Henry de Whitby and Joan his wife for cutting down their trees at Aldeneston by force and arms, and carrying them away, to the value of £40. On which the miners said that they held the mine of Aldeneston to farm of the lord the king and that this is a privilege of their mine that the miners of it can cut wood to whomsoever it may belong, nearest and most convenient to the silver vein of the mine, which they may happen to find and to take as much of that wood as they please to roast and smelt the ore of such mine. Henry and Joan did not dispute

dispute the right but contended the eight miners had taken too much wood, and £40 of wood in the 13th century must have been a large order.

In 1350 the royal commissioners, Thomas de Seton and John de Mowbray, held an enquiry at Penrith, into the liberties of the miners of Aldeneston. The jury found

That the miners of Aldenesten formerly dwelt together in their *shelis* and when they did so and were exercising their calling of mining, they used and had these liberties, customs, and immunities, namely,—of choosing there among each other and from themselves, one *coroner* and one baliff, called the *king's sergeant*, which coroner for the time being had cognizance of all pleas as well concerning felonies or trespasses, debts contracted and all other matters among themselves, there arising concerning themselves, and likewise the power of hearing and determining all such matters: and they say that the king's baliff made all executions among them respecting themselves and servants injoined upon him in the form aforesaid: and further, that the present miners, while then dwelling together and exercising their calling of miners by following their mining wherever it may, and by dwelling together in their *shelis* ought to use and peaceably enjoy all the aforesaid liberties and customs: but if they be dispersed in different places, then, thus separated from one another, they ought not to use or enjoy the liberties aforesaid. And they say that while thus dwelling together and following their mining occupations, they and their predecessors have enjoyed these privileges for a time beyond all memory, sending therein annually to the king at the exchequer at Carlisle 10 marks.

This proves clearly that the miners were a people distinct from the agricultural or pastoral inhabitants of the district. I have no doubt they were a colony of German miners brought to work the mines, and settled in the king of Scotland's franchise of Tyndale, under the royal protection of the English king as paramount lord, paying their dues to the nearest officer of that crown, who happened to be the sheriff of Cumberland, and so the district, though not part of the kingdom of Cumbria, came to be part of Cumberland.

And the German names of Aldenstain or Alston, and Gerrard's Gill probably mark the *shelis* of the free miners.

ART IV.—*Notes on Alston Manorial Records.* By W. NANSON, B.A., F.S.A.

Read at the place July 10th, 1884.

I MAKE no pretension in these notes to write the manorial history of Alston. In general outline it will be found in the county histories for Cumberland, and a fuller account is given in Hodgson's History of Northumberland, but these tell us more about the pedigree of the lords and how the manor passed by marriage from the Viponts to the Stapletons, and from the Stapletons to the Hiltons, than they do about the manor itself. We are, I believe, too apt to regard a manor simply from the lord's point of view, to look upon it as so much land over which the lord has certain rights and within which the game and the minerals are his property. As a matter of fact it is not at all easy to understand clearly what a manor is, and it is still less easy to give any satisfactory explanation of its origin. Sir Henry Maine speaks of a manor as a group of tenants, autocratically organised and governed, and held together by a variety of subordinate relations to a feudal chief, single or corporate, who is the lord. It is evident therefore that the idea of a manor is a complex one, while as to its origin those, who have discarded Blackstone and no longer believe that every manor was created by direct grant about the time of the Conquest, must be in some doubt as to which of the new guides to follow. It is generally acknowledged by modern writers on the subject that the manor grew out of the village community, but there is much uncertainty and much difference of opinion as to the actual process, and there is an equal difference of opinion as to the political status of the group of persons who composed the village community. Until recently it was

was a generally accepted theory that the English invaders of Britain settled themselves here and there throughout the country as small communities of freemen who dwelt together in their own village, which they called a *ham* or *tun*, and that each family cultivated its allotted share in the free allodial lands which were the common property of the community. Then it is said that the free village communities gradually underwent a process of feudalisation which resulted in the aggrandisement of the leading family and its chief, and the degradation of the other members of the society until they became the vassals of the lord, and in most cases his servile tenants. Quite recently however Mr. Frederick Seebohm, in his most interesting book on the English village community, has asserted that the village community was not introduced by our Teutonic ancestors, but was connected with a settled agriculture apparently dating earlier than the Roman invasion, and that the political condition of the cultivators of the land was not that of original freedom, but of settled serfdom under a lordship; and he further goes on to say that this serfdom was to the masses of the people not a degradation but a step upward out of a once more general slavery.

We see therefore that the history of a manor is likely to afford abundant scope for investigation. It should trace not merely the pedigree of the successive lords, but also the descent of the different tenements, it should treat of the mutual relations of the lord and the different classes of tenants, and of their respective rights and obligations, it should give an account of the manorial courts and their judicial and legislative powers, it should examine and explain the different customs shewing which of them are of general application and which are local, and it should state what officers there were, how they were elected, and what were their functions.

The first step towards a knowledge of these facts is to make a careful examination of the records of the manor, consisting for the most part of court rolls, surveys, rentals, and

and presentments as to customs and boundaries. Unfortunately many of these have perished, and what remain are in most cases stowed away with the lord's title deeds in the office of the steward. No less an authority than Kemble has said "it is deeply to be lamented that the *very early* customs found in copies of court rolls in England have not been collected and published. Such a step could not possibly affect the interests of lords of manors or their stewards; but the collection would furnish invaluable materials for law and history." It is much therefore to be wished that the influence of this Society might be exerted to procure the production of valuable manorial records which a private investigator would hardly venture to ask for, with a view to obtaining reports from members upon the different manors in Cumberland and Westmoreland. I ought to say for myself that as far as my very limited experience goes, I have invariably found that stewards of manors are ready to give every reasonable facility for archæological research, but still there is a certain difficulty in asking to see documents which are regarded as private muniments, and therefore it might be well that the application should come from this Society in the form of a request that one of its members might be permitted to examine and report upon the records. In many cases the steward himself from his legal training and local knowledge would be most competent to undertake the work, and in other cases he might give valuable assistance.

These preliminary remarks have been in a great measure suggested to my mind by a perusal of three rolls forming part of the records of the manor of Alston Moor, and I ought to add, so far as they apply to stewards, by the kindness of Mr. Millican, the steward of the manor, in allowing me to examine them, and by the help which he has given me in explaining some puzzling entries.

Jefferson, in his history of Leath Ward, says that some of the court books for Alston are signed by the first Earl of

of Derwentwater, but the earliest book now forthcoming begins in 1799. Possibly the earlier books may be at Greenwich Hospital, as the commissioners are the present lords of the manor. The three rolls are not in themselves of great antiquity, but two of them at least are copied from much earlier documents. The first, which is called a "Paine Roll," was made in 1692, either from a roll of Elizabeth's reign made in 1597, which is stated to be "waxen and grown soe dimm that it was hard to be read;" or from a copy of the Elizabethan roll made in 1629, and the Elizabethan roll itself is described as "drawn forth of a roll made in king Henrye's the VIIth dayes." It is a list of pains and penalties to be imposed by the court leet or court baron on the commission of a variety of offences, some against the common or statute law of the land and some against the customs of the manor.

The second of the rolls is called a "Drift Roll," and it is a copy made in 1744 of an old roll also of the year 1597, which had likewise waxen and grown dim. It contains entries showing the drift roads or rights of ways which the tenants of the different tenements in the manor had over other tenant's lands for driving their sheep and cattle to the fell which was the common pasturage of the manor. It contains a great number of names, many of which are still to be found upon the ordnance map, and many more may remain in the recollection of Alston folk. Here is one entry as a specimen.

Item.—The Tenements at Nether Cragge shall drive over at the foot of Guddergill and so over Lortburne, and so to the Black Syke, and so to the ffell. And in Winter in ffrost and Snowe to drive over Tyne, through the head of Richard Renwick ffield and when he breaks the Dyke every year to pay fourpence.

In the times when the fields lay open and unenclosed, and each man's land consisted of small parcels lying scattered and intermixed, and being divided only by a green balk of turf, called in this part of the country by the German

German word *rain*, or by merestones. The field ways were necessarily very numerous, and being ill defined led to frequent disputes which came before the court baron for settlement, and it was no doubt with a view to obviate them that this drift roll was drawn up, for in the pain roll is this entry. "That every man drive his drift according to the drift road. Sub pena vi^{d} for every default."

The third roll is undated, but the writing is somewhat earlier than that of the drift roll. It is "the heads of severall articles proper, to be given in charge at the court leet and court baron, held in and for the manor of Alston Moor." It is very similar to the pain roll, inasmuch as it contains a list of those offences inquirable and punishable in the court leet, and those inquirable and punishable in the court baron, and it is simply the charge which was read by the steward to the jury after they were sworn, to let them know what they had to inquire into.

Taking this roll and the pain roll together, we get a pretty good idea of the way in which a self-governing community in the North of England conducted its own affairs in the days before state legislation had invented county police, highway boards, rural sanitary authorities, poor law guardians, enclosure commissioners, medical officers of health, and inspectors of nuisances, and certainly if the pains were enforced, and there is no reason to doubt they were, the system must have been both simple and effective. To a great extent the jurisdiction of the court leet still remains unabolished, and it has lost its importance chiefly because general legislation has provided other more complicated machinery for performing the same functions.

Many of the pains which at first sight look strange, are not due to any local custom, but are general enactments which by act of parliament the court leet was directed to enforce, and in examining court rolls this must be carefully

fully kept in view. The following entries which occur in these rolls are good instances.

If any shall take or destroye the spawn or ffrye of ffishe at the tayle of any mill wear or elsewhere with any trunks, arks, pitholes, netts, or other engines, or take trouts by angling with unlawful baits, as ffish roues or such like when trouts are full of spawn ;

which has reference to 1 Elizabeth, cap. 17. "An act for preservation of spawn and fry of fish."

That none shall take cottagers under the payne of vi^{s} viii^{d};

which relates to 31 Elizabeth, cap. 7. "An act against the erecting and maintaining of cottages."

That none kill any hares in the snowe. Sub pena xii^{d};

which is forbidden by an Act of Henry VIII against the "tracing of hares."

That noe man play at cards or tables for money within the lordship, but within the xii dayes of Christemas. Sub pena vi^{s} viii^{d} ;

which is in accordance with the Act 33, Henry VIII, cap. 9.

Besides these pains relating to particular statutes, there are many relating to offences which at common law, or by the custom of most manors, were enquirable by the court leet, but even these have frequently a local colouring and contain obsolete or provincial words.

Thus the selling of unwholesome victuals, which was punishable in every court leet, appears in the charge roll in the following form :

If any shall kill, or expose at sale, the flesh of any beast that is not wholesome nourishment for man, as the fflesh of any beast that dyed of the murrain or any other disease, or swine's fflesh that is menconed (*manged* or *measled* probably), or any mutton that is rotten, or shall stuffe the ears of their veal or lamb with clouts, raggs, or paper to deceive the people.

The ears are the kidneys, with the enclosing fat, which was stuffed out to make them look larger, and I am told that

that unscrupulous butchers still do it, though they use fat for the purpose instead of clouts, raggs, or paper. Other entries of the usual sort prohibit forestalling, regrating, and ingrossing, all of which are clearly defined, the use of false weights, pound-breach, the keeping of inmates, and the obstruction of ways and watercourses, while others provide for the punishment of breakers of the peace and scolds, the repair of the stocks and pinfold, the yearly making of the butts for archery at Alston and at Garrigill before St. Hellen's day (18th August), and the ringing of swine.

Another class of pains relates to the rights of the lord of the manor, and provides for the preservation of game, fish, and swarms of bees, and prohibits the grinding of corn, except at the lord's mill, encroachment on the wastes, or trespass on the demesne, the taking of hawks, the suing of a tenant elsewhere than in the manor court, and the cutting of woods of warrant, which were oak, ash, holly, and crabtree, and were so called because they were not to be felled without the licence or warrant of the lord.

Other regulations seem to be taken from the border laws, and relate to the day and night watches that had to be kept by the tenants, as a precaution against Scottish raids and the visits of moss-troopers, and as every tenant had to keep a horse, and be ready to come armed and mounted to the fray and following, it would seem that they held what were called nag tenements. Alston does not appear to be mentioned in the "orders of the watches" made by Lord Wharton. It was certainly not included in the Western Marches like the rest of Cumberland, and though as part of Tindale, we should expect to find it in the Middle Marches, following after the watches at Lamly Ford and in Knaresdale, the name of Alston does not occur. It is clear from the rolls, however, that watches had to be kept within the manor.

Other

Other entries on the rolls relate to agricultural matters, and some of these are distinctly local. Thus we have:

If any shall remove mearstones or boundr marks whereby the manor is distinguished from another, or one man's land from another, or plow any raines that are or perticon (*partition*) between one tenant's lands and another.

This shews that the manor was marked out where requisite with boundary marks, as I understand it still is, and that the cultivated lands lay partly at any rate in open fields, with fences to divide them from the common, but with only mearstones or rains between the different parcels. The commons were what is called unstinted, but the tenants were not to surcharge the common, and the rule was, according to the primitive practice, that each tenant might summer as many goods, *i.e.* cattle on the common, as he could winter at home. No man was to hound another's sheep upon the fell to secure better pasturage for his own: no man was "to drive any goodes over any head water one upon another," perhaps to prevent fouling the stream, and it was ordered "that every tenant that have used to goe to the sheales doe go to the same within one month after S^{nt} Helen day, and then to stay still S^{nt} Peter day upon payne of xii^{d} for every default." St. Helen's day is the 18th August, and St. Peter's day is the 29th June, therefore, I think the sheales, which were places on the fell, surrounded with ditches or walls, and with a cabin for the shepherd, must have been the winter quarters of the sheep. There are many names about Alston ending in sheilds, and in some places I am told the surrounding ditches can still be traced. Amongst these agricultural regulations are several which serve to shew the exclusive nature of the early mannorial community and its jealousy of strangers No man was to lodge any that dwelt below Glendew, without the licence of the lord or his officer, and no man was to take any goods (*cattle*) from beneath Glendew and Rendalford, the

the northern boundary of the manor, to "jeast" or to take any "geast" swine or geese within the lordship. I am indebted to the Rev. T. Lees for the meaning of the word "geast," which seems akin to the word guest, and is the same as agist or agistment, which Halliwell defines as "the feeding of cattle in a common pasture, for a stipulated price." It was also enjoined "that no tenant doe hire any to watch within this liberty that dwells beneath Gilderdale burne or Ale (the two burns bounding the manor on the north) sub pena vi^{s} viii^{d} soe often as they do the the contrary."

Lastly, I may mention two pains which seem to belong to primitive times, and may be survivals from the early village community. The first is:

That no man shall mark any other man's marke but to marke and keep his own house marke upon payne of vi^{s} viii^{d} and not to marke two house marks.

This is clear evidence that the house marks which Williams has described in the Archæologia (vol. xxxvii, page 371) in his letter on the Land of Ditmarsh and the mark confederation, and which he observed in the old home of the English people between the Elbe and the Eider, were once to be seen at Alston. "In Ditmarsh and in Denmark," says Williams, "the owners mark was cut in stone over the principal door of the house; it designated not only his land and his cattle, but his stall in church, and his grave when he was no more." Perhaps a house mark could yet be met with at Alston, or it may be that the old devices, though no longer to be seen on houses, may still be used for marking cattle, or be found in the sheep books kept by the farmers.

The other pain, which I venture to think refers to a primitive usage is as follows:

That the tenants that joyne upon the mark close make up their part that joynes upon the same upon the payne of iii^{s} iiii^{d} at the discretion of the fence men.

Mark

Mark Close is now the name of a farm on the left bank of the Tyne, nearly opposite Alston, and not far from the mound called Hall Hill, which overlooks the river, and is partly surrounded by a deep artificial ditch. Such a hill from its name can hardly be supposed to be anything else but the place where the folkmoot once met in the open air, and where probably, in later times, were also held the court leet and court baron, which Sir Henry Maine says there can be no reasonable doubt are descended from the assembly of the township. Hodgson, in his History of Northumberland, suggested this idea, but whether there was a tradition on the subject, or whether he was guided merely by the derivation of Hall Hill from the hill of the *aula* or *halla*, meaning a court baron, he does not tell us. The fact that Hall Hill is not far from the farm of Mark Close, and that it probably stood within the limits of a wide enclosure, now divided into smaller fields, which was known as the Mark Close, and gave its name to the modern farm, seems to support Hodgson's suggestion. Mr. Gomme, in his book on Primitive Folk-moots, cites instances of moots being held in open fields, and calls attention to the recurrence of such names as Hall Close, Mott-house Field, Mote Field, Mote Close, and Mote Thorne Field, to which we may add the Mark Close. It was probably a common pasture, which being public property, had to be fenced by those whose land adjoined it, and within which, upon the Hall Hill met the mark moot, the old assembly of the primitive mark or township, before the causes which transformed the mark into the manor had come into operation.

The manor courts are now held, not in the town of Alston, but at a place called Lowbyre, a little north of the town, and near the river. In the drift roll I find that Lowbyre is Lawbyare, and that is doubtless the original form of the word. Law-day is a term sometimes used instead of court leet, and Mr. Gomme, in his book on Folk-moots, gives an account of the Birlaw courts of Scotland,

Scotland, and of the Byerlaws into which the district called Bradfield, in Yorkshire was divided. He also extracts from Whitaker's History of Whalley, a code of byerlaws belonging to Extwistle, as containing the legislation of a primitive agricultural community, and the judgements of a primitive judicial court. We seem therefore to be warranted in concluding that Lawbyer is only an inversion of Byerlaw, and that the place gets its name from the courts which are held there.

Since the above paper was written, Mr. Millican, the steward of the manor, has discovered one of the old court books. It comprises the period from 1683 to 1694, and contains many interesting entries relating to amerciaments or fines imposed by the court, for offences against the customary law of the manor as declared in the pain roll. Amongst them is the following :

We amorcy John Key, for not markeing with the marke belonging to his house contra paine. vi^{s} viii^{d}

The book also contains the records of the courts held at Keswick, for the manor of Castlerigg and Derwentwater, and a few entries relating to the manor of Thornthwaite, these manors, as well as Alston Moor, having belonged to the Radcliffe family. On one of the pages is to be found the signature "Darwentwater," being that of Francis the first Earl. At the beginning of the book he is described as Francis Radcliffe Baronet, but in 1687 he becomes Francis Earl of Derwentwater.

ART. V.—*The Earthworks near Kirkland, known as the Hanging Walls of Mark Antony.* By J. G. GOODCHILD. *Read at that place, July 11th,* 1884.

ABOUT half a mile or so to the north-west of the village of Kirkland, and, again, at a lesser distance in the opposite direction from the same place, the maps of the Ordnance Survey indicate the position of two remarkable earthworks, which, judging by the style of lettering used in naming them on the maps, are considered to be Roman in origin. The great Roman highway between Appleby and the Tyne Valley ranges in a north-north easterly direction within a thousand yards of either of the earthworks referred to; the one, that in Bank Wood, lying about six hundred yards on the north-west side of the road; while the other, that at Rangbeck (or Ranbeck, as it is spelled) being a little over seven hundred yards to the south-east of the same highway. The geographical position of the earthworks in question, considered in relation to the Roman Road, would seem, judging from a map alone, to be eminently suitable for halting-places for travellers passing along the road in either direction. For the difference in level between that of the Roman Road where it passes through the village of Kirkland and its summit-level at the currick called Meg's Cairn, on the top of the escarpment is between fifteen hundred and sixteen hundred feet; while between the town of Alston and the same summit-level the difference in elevation is eleven hundred feet or more. At the best of times so hilly a road could never have been easy travelling, and it is quite conceivable that the point where the road crosses the line separating the undulating lowlands of Edenside from the steep edge of the great upland tract lying to the north-east, should

should be exactly the spot where both man and beast would make a halt in the course of a journey in either direction. Consequently it is precisely at the very spot where these earthworks respectively occur that we might reasonably expect to meet with traces of such resting-places, whether in the form of camps or otherwise.

The earthworks at Bankwood, just referred to, are situated on the south-western slope of a natural ridge extending between Bank Hall and Ousby Townhead. Owing partly to the presence of the trees and associated undergrowth the details of these earthworks were not easy to make out at the time of my visit. But they seem to consist of little else than a rather obscure terrace, ovoidal in contour, which has been cut from the face of a small natural mound existing at that spot. The longer diameter of the ovoid ranges in a north-easterly direction, and is about one hundred yards in length, the shorter or cross diameter is about seventy yards or thereabouts. Whether the place really does represent a Roman camp, or not, I leave it to competent archæologists to decide.

The other earthworks, at Rangbeck, are much more easily examined. On the Six Inch Maps of the Ordnance Survey they are represented as occupying the southern part of the pasture next to Rangbeck farmhouse, and on the west side. The small hill where they occur is named Baron's Hill, which name is lettered in the ordinary italic letters in general use throughout the Survey map; while under that name is another, in Egyptian letters, the "Hanging Walls of Mark Anthony."* In the south-western angle of the field is a well, which is called "Mark Anthony's Well," and is lettered in italics, as if, as in the case of

* After this paper was written I learnt from a lady living at Milburn, that the hill under notice is called, not Baron's Hill, but Borrans Hill (Borɐnz Hil). This is a fact of some little importance. It may be mentioned that "Borrans" is a name widely used over the north-west of England for what may be called stone-clearings, as distinguished from "Thwaite," a wood-clearing. The term is applied alike to clearings of old stone buildings, and to clearings of stones exposed at the surface by natural causes.

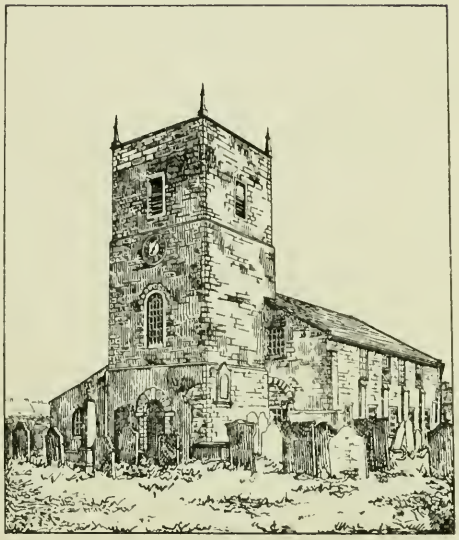
Borrans

Borrans Hill just mentioned, the Ordnance Surveyor did not attach any archæological importance to the name. Beyond the points mentioned, not much, if any information of importance in relation to the place can be gathered from the maps.

On the ground, however, there are several features that will have to be considered in any speculations regarding the true nature of the earthworks in question. These I propose to describe as they would appear to a visitor approaching the place from the south side.

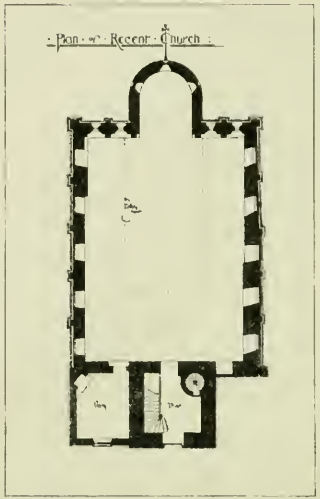
The general form of the surface in the immediate neighbourhood of Rangbeck farmhouse is that of a series of low, flattened domes, rudely elliptical in form, with their longer axes directed N.W., and S.E. The transverse slacks intervening between the ends of the mounds here and there form the channel whence some of the drainage from the fell sides finds its way downwards towards the Eden. Hence they are occasionally widened out by the action of the running water: while some of the alluvial matter is spread out and is left as grassy flats at the bottom of the hollow. Some of these transverse streams have cut across the longitudinal slacks in this way at Rangbeck, so as to leave small mounds, or knolls, surrounded on two or more sides with slacks, which may or may not be occupied by running water. Of these longitudinal slacks one ranges in a north-westerly direction from near the County boundary at Crowdundale Beck up to Rangbeck farmhouse, and it may be traced, in a gradually-shallowing form, to the north-west of that. Another, similar in all essential respects, ranges from the County boundary in a north-westerly direction past Wythwaite, and may be traced almost to Kirkland Beck. These are crossed by some of the transverse slacks before mentioned. One of these contains the water of Rangbeck, and it flows past the farmhouse, on the south side of Borrans Hill to Blencarn. Another ranges for a very short distance on the north side, gradually deepening as

1.



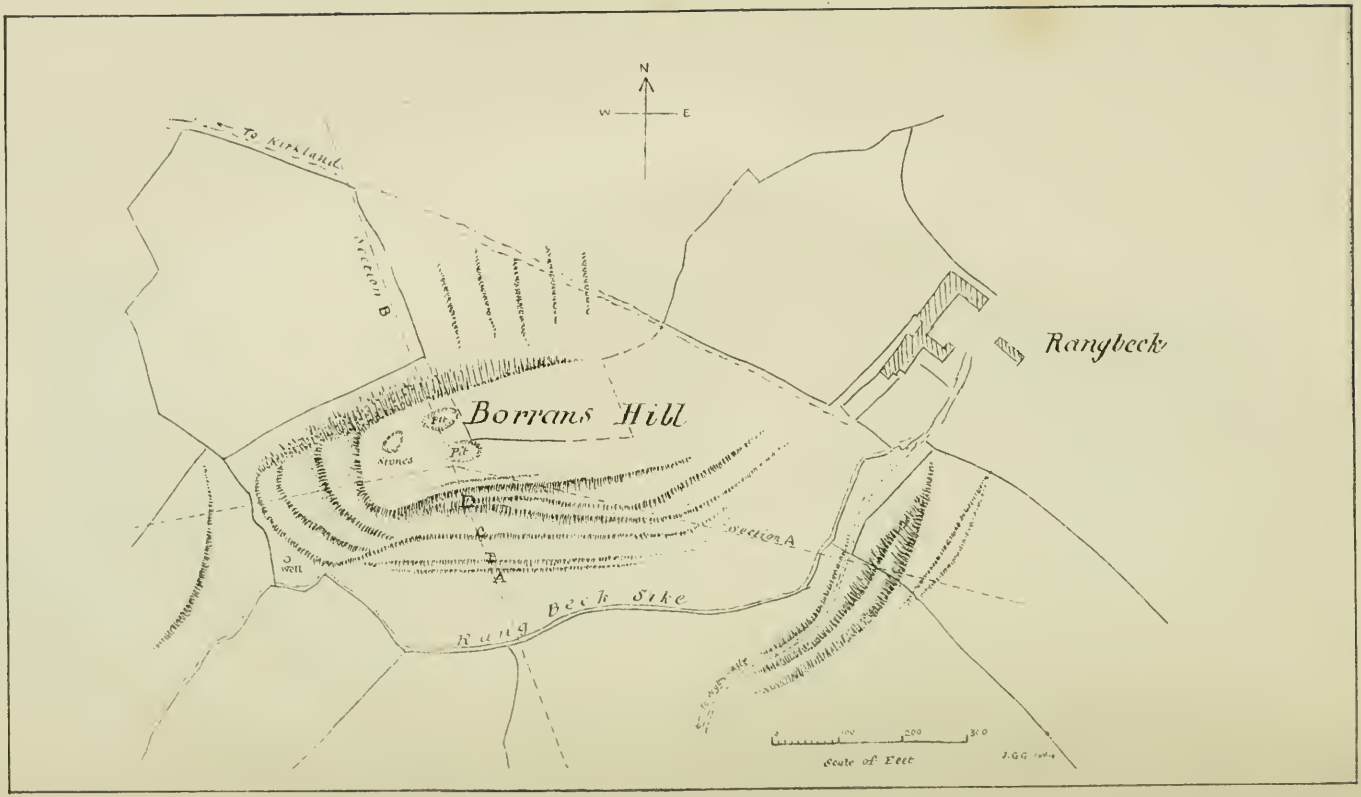
View of Modern Church [illegible]
shewing Norman Chancel Arch at N

2.



3.

Sketch shewing Modern Church East end
Chancel built in 1752 : Windows in same of later date


N
W
E
To Kirkland
Section B
Borrans Hill
Pit
Stones
Section A
Well
Rang Beck Sike
Rangbeck
0
100
200
300
Scale of Feet
J.G.G. 1914

as it goes west, until it merges into the slack just mentioned as ranging northward from Wythwaite. Borrans Hill thus has a kind of natural moat—or what may be described as a U-shaped slack, with the bottom of the U directed towards the west—running round three sides of it. The parts of the slack corresponding to the upper part of the U gradually become shallower as they are traced towards the east; while the surface of the mound in the middle gradually declines in the same direction; so that on the north-east side of the hill the surface is devoid of any feature worthy of special notice on the present occasion.

I have described the features in this way, because the first thing that strikes one is that Borrans Hill is not an eminence standing above the general level of the surrounding surface; but that it is part of a generally-level surface, which is only locally intersected by longitudinal and transverse gullies. In other words, Borrans Hill is surrounded on all four sides by ground that, within bow-shot, is of equal elevation, or is even higher.

The south face of the hill rises somewhat abruptly from the grassy alluvial flat left by the water of the small stream that flows parallel with it at a distance of twenty yards or so from its foot. The junction of the hill side with the alluvial flat is marked by two small scarps, with a terrace between them. The edge of the higher scarp has an elevation of about three feet above the adjoining alluvium. These two scarps, whose upper edges I shall refer to as (a) and (b), the lower and upper, respectively—are traceable along nearly the whole of the south face of the hill. At the south-east angle the gradual rise of the alluvial flat cuts them off in that direction, while at the south-west angle the lower scarp (a) is cut off by a decline from the terrace above (b), so that (b) only, or a terrace on the same level as (b), is traceable for a short distance at the west end. A regular, and almost perfectly-flat terrace, about fifteen yards in width, extends inward from the edge of

of (b) ; this also is traceable along the whole of the south face, while at the south-east angle it gradually merges into the valley bottom, as this rises in the direction of the farmhouse. The inner margin of this terrace is marked by a steep scarp, inclined at an angle of about forty degrees, and rising to a height of about nine feet from the level of the broad terrace at its foot. The edge of this third scarp (c) coincides with the outer margin of a third terrace, which is about six yards in width, and is less regular in form than the one below it. This third terrace declines slightly in each direction, from about the middle of the hill, so that it dies out at the south-eastern end. About the point where the western face of the hill meets the southern face, the terrace under notice begins to decline somewhat rapidly, as if to form a road between its higher portion and the alluvium at the foot of the hill, consequently it cuts in succession across each of the terraces and scarps below, so that they are not clearly traceable beyond. Another steep scarp, irregular in form, more or less stony in character, instead of being smooth and grassy like the lower scarp, rises from the terrace last described. This scarp is succeeded by a small and ill-defined terrace, which is margined by a low scarp, forming the edge of the plateau on the top of the hill.

On the west side of Borrans Hill, four similar terraces with their accompanying scarps can be traced. The middle two are discontinuous with the corresponding features on the south side, the break occuring where the terrace above (c) descends to the level of the beck.

On the north side of the hill, the bottom of the slack rises somewhat rapidly, so that the lower terraces are soon cut out. On this side of the hill the scarps and terraces are no longer separately traceable ; and the whole hill side forms one continuous slope, from the edge of the plateau at the top, down to the bottom of the slack.

On the plateau itself, there is very little that calls for any special remark. There is no trace of earth works of any

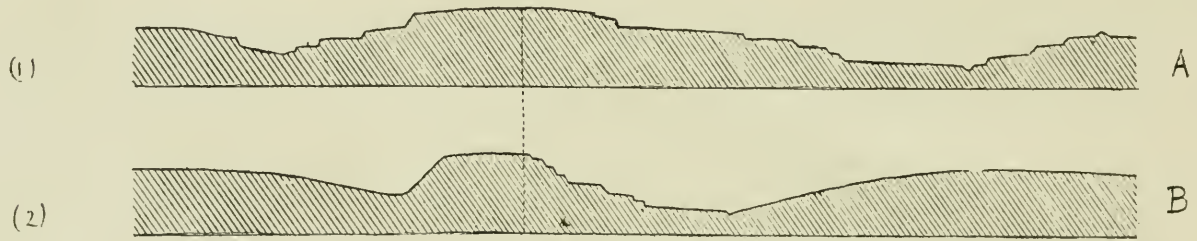


Diagram Sections through Borrans Hill

A. (1) Along the line A. on the plan

(2) Along the line B

Vertical scale exaggerated

any kind, unless one may regard as earthworks, in the archæological sense, two shallow pits occuring near the western end of the plateau, which have evidently been made for the purpose of getting stones for the adjacent walls. The position and the approximate form of these pits are shewn upon the plan given with this paper.

The hill is thus terraced on three of its sides, most prominently so, be it observed, on the sides of the hill that receive most of the sun.

But the terraces are not confined to Borrans Hill itself, as the representation of the place on the Ordnance Maps would lead one to believe. On the western side of the slack that marks the west end of Borrans Hill—that is to say—opposite to the four terraces before mentioned as occuring there, at least one other terrace and scarp, similar in all essential respects, can be traced along the hill-side there. These are most prominent where they face towards the south. At the south-eastern angle of Borrans Hill, just where the southern terraces begin to die out, strongly-marked terraces of precisely the same kind occur on the opposite or southern bank of the slack, ranging thence northward, to nearly opposite the house. These last scarps face in a generally west-north-westerly direction. On the northern side of the hill, just where the slack is rising to the general level of the adjoining surface, several smaller terraces range in a northerly direction ; that is to say, at right angles to the principal scarp on that side. The relative positions and the form of the whole of the earth works referred to, are shewn on the accompanying plan and sections.

In regard to the precise nature of the earthworks in question, it must be left to competent archæologists to decide. If I may express an opinion, it is that they could not have been formed for any purposes of defence, notwithstanding that their position in relation to the Roman Road would have led us to expect to meet with a defensive position

position hereabouts. The terraces and scarps facing the hill are, in all essential respects, identical with those on the hill itself, and it seems safe to assume that no body of men constructing a place of defence would construct earthworks directly facing their own, and that, too, well within bowshot.

Local tradition steps in here to help us a little in the matter. In the first place, none of the people in the neighbourhood know of the place under its book-name of the Hanging Walls of Mark Anthony. Negative evidence does not, it is true, count for much in matters of this kind. On the other hand, a lady living at Milburn, tells me that the earthworks are known as the "Hingin Gardins," and another lady has heard them spoken of as the Hanging Walls of *Saint* Anthony.

In connection with the name Hingin Gardins, it is worth while again to direct attention to the fact that nearly all the terraces at Rangbeck are constructed so that they may receive the fullest share of the sunlight; a very important consideration in the case of a place situated as Rangbeck is.

But to my mind, the strongest proof of all that they represent vestiges of an old system of cultivation, is to be found in the remarkably close resemblance of these Rangbeck earthworks to what are called "reans" in north-west Yorkshire, which are admitted on all hands to be nothing more than old cultivation marks. Similar terraces exist in a very well-marked form in many places in Edenside, though the name "rean" does not seem to be so well known. Some of the best of these reans occur in the neighbourhood of Kirkby Stephen; and they are seen in remarkable perfection in the pastures on the north side of Wharton Hall. These can be easily examined from the Midland railway, and they are worthy of careful study by any one that attempts to explain the origin of the earthworks at Rangbeck.

APPENDIX.

Some conversation took place as to what the earthworks really were, and the various speakers seemed to agree with Mr. Goodchild, that the terraces on the sides of the hill, had been formed in the course of cultivation. Professor Hughes said that he knew of similar terraces being formed at the present time in Switzerland in the course of cultivation. Mr. W. Nanson observed that at Tebay station there was a field cultivated in strips, and in addition to the "reans," there were meerstones dividing the lots. The vicar of Uldale said there was a similar series of terraces at Uldale; he cultivated the upper part and others cultivated the terraces below. Mr. Cartmell said the same thing occurred in the immediate neighbourhood of Carlisle, at Currock, where there were grounds called the soldiers' dales. Mr. Lees said that he had no doubt that these remarkable earthworks were terraces of cultivation, and that the name, Mark Antony, supplied the clue to their original use. "*Mark Antony*" was, he believed, a corruption for "*Saint Antony*," a saint much venerated, (as we learn from Erasmus's Colloquy "Franciscani ") by rustics, who was the founder and patron of the Eremite life. Hence, he thought, we might conclude that as the hermits were, like the inhabitants of monasteries, diligent cultivators of the soil, this place owed its remarkable character and name to one of these pioneers of christianity and agriculture. The well still in existence, close to the base of the terraces, was possibly the very one which supplied water to the hermitage.

ART. VI.—*The Traditions of Crosthwaite Church Belfry, Keswick.* By J. FISHER CROSTHWAITE, F.S.A.
Read at Alston, July 10th, 1884.

THE traditions and records respecting Bells and Bell-ringers of this church may not be unworthy of notice. In the churchwardens' accounts, in 1699, the ringing cost 4s. 6d. per year, and a bell rope 5s. In 1702, for making bell wheels £2 10s. 6d.; for bell hingers 5s.; for ringing the bells 9s. In 1706 the charge for ringing is 16s., and ale for thanksgiving days and 5th November, 7s. 3d. The annual charge for ringing, for several years following, is put down at 12s., which, as there were four bells, was 3s. to each man. The bells were of large size, as will be found by the following elaborate account of the total charge for taking the great bell down and carrying it to Whitehaven, thence to be sent by ship to Dublin; the churchwardens (two of them) accompanying and bringing it back after having been recast.

1714.

	£	s.	d.
The whole charge of ye great bell in Ireland and elsewhere is - - - - - - - - - - -	£37	2	6½
Taking down ye bell. Spent with 8 men - - -	0	6	0
Robert Wren, for 4 day's work - - - - - -	0	3	0
For Cart Stangs and Straw at the bottom of ye cart -	0	1	0
To Giles Sinogle and Joseph Hodgson for Carriage of ye Bell - - - - - - - - - -	1	3	0
For a Roller to take the Bell down and up with - -	0	1	0
Spent with Mr. Williamson and other officers for preventing custom - - - - - - - - -	0	4	0
Spent with Giles Sinogle for carrying ye Bell in and out of custom house - - - - - - - -	0	1	0
To ye Seamen for carrying ye Bell and taking it aboard ship - - - - - - - - - -	0	1	0

To

	£	s.	d.
To a Cart for carrying it from ye custom house to the ship	0	0	6
For Victuals at Whitehaven, 2 days 1^s 4^d, and provisions taken aboard	0	3	4
To Collecting Clark for Voicing ye Bell at Whitehaven	0	1	6
For the Porters for Weighing ye Bell at Whitehaven	0	1	0
For the Bell's Passage both ways at sea	0	10	0
For our Passage both ways at sea	0	10	0
For a Sufference to bring ye Bell ashore at Whitehaven	0	1	6
Spent with Mr. Williamson and other officers for preventing duty	0	4	0
Spent with ye Saylors for carting ye Bell and helping to Bransty	0	1	6
For a Cart with ye Bell to Bransty	0	0	6
For our Diet at our return to Whitehaven	0	2	0
Irish Expenses. For a Wherry to go ashore 8^d, a cart 6^d	0	1	2
A Porter 2^d, bring up ye Bell by water to ye custom house key 3^s 3^d	0	3	5
For a Bond making of Conditions about the Bell	0	1	6
Spent when agreed with ye Founder for Casting the Bell	0	2	6
Spent that night the Bell was cast with Founder and others	0	1	0
For Diet and Lodging 28^s, for Washing our Linen 1^d, Bear 7^s	1	16	0
For Carrying the Bell in a Cart to ye waterside 2^s 2^d, a Boat 1^s	0	3	2
For a Cart to attend ye Bell a ship board 6^d, back again 2^d	0	0	8
For Provisions to take aboard when coming home	0	1	6
For a Wherry to come aboard when coming home	0	1	0
For a Petition to ye Board at the custom house	0	1	0
Custom House in Dublin	0	1	0
Duty paid for Bell forward	1	14	2½
For Voicing the Bell at the custom house	0	1	6
For Porterage and Weighing the Bell at custom house	0	3	4
For Weighing the Bell when casten at the custom house	0	1	1
The Duty at the custom house when new casten	1	19	10
For Entering in ye custom house to 2 Clarks at 3^s 4½^d p^r clark	0	6	9
For Out Voicing at ye custom house	0	2	0
For a P'mit to ye shipp master to take ye Bell aboard	0	1	0
For Interest for £34, from ye 30th day of Septemb^r till this p'sent day	1	6	2

For

	£	s.	d.
For our care about ye Bell and time, likewise charge for undertaking the Bell itself - - - - -	27	11	4

Joseph Pearson, Francis Hodgson, and Thomas Hutchinson, Churchwardens.

In 1715 we have the following entry: "Spent in ale at the king's coronation day, 12^s 6^d.

1721. Spent in ale at *Nicholas Graves on ye 5th November, 5^s.

1738. The 4 ringers had 5^s a year each for their services.

1743. The wage was raised to 5^s 6^d a year each, and continued at that rate until 1774, when it was raised to 8^s 6^d each.

1762. Expenses at coronation and other rejoicings 19^s.

In the year 1775 a public subscription was entered into to procure a peal of six bells, which were ultimately procured from the firm of Messrs. Pack and Chapman, London. The list of subscribers till recently hung in the vestry; it was headed by Dr. Wm. Brownrigg, of Ormathwaite, (the friend and host of Franklin) with a subscription of £10 10s., and tradition says that Dr. Brownrigg gave a premium of £10 to have the pick of three peals, said to have been cast at the same time for Keswick, Penrith, and Cockermouth. Some say that Workington also had a new peal of bells about the same time. In 1777, the ringers wages were £3 3s. per annum, or 11s. each man.

It would seem that change ringing was not understood, until it was taught by a man from Yorkshire, named Mark Hall. He first came to Keswick with Howe's caravan, with wild beasts; he was a shoemaker by occupation, and eventually he settled in Keswick, and having taught the Keswick ringers he went to Cockermouth and settled there, where he also taught the ringers. He was an ingenius man and a good mechanic; he built an organ

* Note 1.—Nicholas Grave was for 56 years parish clerk, as is shown by a headstone to his memory in the churchyard. He also kept an inn at Keswick; he made wills and other documents, many of which are extant. He seems to have been the factotum of the parish. The church records are mostly in his handwriting, which is remarkably bold and clear.

which

which was used in one of the chapels in Cockermouth at one time. Bell-ringing became popular, when the peal was increased to six bells. Besides the regular paid ringers there were six amateurs, who used to vie with the others, ringing alternate peals. The amateurs were yeomen and tradesmen of good position, whose names have been kept in memory, viz: Mr. Birkett, of Powe House; Mr. Harryman, of Portinscale; Mr. J. Bell, of Ullock; Mr. John Dover, Spade Forge, Keswick; Mr. Thomas Fleming, Great Crosthwaite; Mr. John Fisher, Lord of Gillbank, Newlands. George Holmes, now living, and aged 84 years, recollects these amateurs, and he says that in change ringing they never got much beyond the "Old Hunt." But the regular ringers became the best set in the county. George himself was a ringer for 51 years, and for 34 years was "major;" his predecessor was Mr. Joseph Grave, woollen manufacturer. It is the rule of the "bell loft," that the son, if a ringer, and fit, heirs his father's bell on his decease. Mr. Grave however resigned the great bell to George for a social glass, but continued to ring the 5th bell, while his son, Stephen Grave, was also a ringer. It is curious to observe, how bell-ringing runs in families; at one time the old sexton, Isaac Hodgson, and his sons Isaac, Joseph, and John were all ringers; and Joseph Grave's father was a ringer in 1794, and was paid for instructing sundry young people to ring, £1 1s. Thomas Irwin was also a noted ringer, and was also well versed in the theory of change ringing; he had a remarkable memory and was a good geologist and mineralogist. Thomas Martin was also a good ringer. He was son of the writing-master hereafter referred to, and like the other ringers of his day, he was an intelligent and well-read man.

In 1826 the following orders were written in large Roman characters, and hanging up in the belfry.

ORDERS.

ORDERS.

You Ringers all observe these Orders well.
He eightpence shall pay who overturns a bell;
He who presumes to ring without consent,
Shall pay one shilling and it shall be spent;
And he who rings with either spur or hat,
Shall pay his eightpence certainly for that;
He who in ringing interrupts a peal,
For such offence shall pay a quart of ale;
In falling bells, one penny must be paid
By him who stops before the signal's made;
And he who takes God's holy name in vain,
Shall pay one shilling and this place refrain.
You ringers all take care, you must not fail
To have your forfeitures all spent in ale.
With heart upright let each true subject ring,
For health and peace, to country, church and king.

RINGERS.

John Bowe.
Isaac Hodgson, Senr.
Thomas Martin, Junior.
John Hodgson
Isaac Hodgson, Junior.
Joseph Grave.
Joseph Hodgson.

Joseph Slack,
Joseph Fisher,
Joseph Walker,
} Churchwardens.

Written by
THOMAS MARTIN,
Writing Master in Keswick,
1826.
In the 86th year of his age.

Thomas Martin died at Keswick, in 1835, aged 95 years; in his young days he was writing master at Green Row Academy.

In 1854, the ringers in Crosthwaite belfry were in excellent training, as the following statement made by Mr. George Holmes will show. He says that they rung peals on four different styles without stopping, each peal occupying

occupying 24 or 25 minutes, one hour and forty minutes in all. The peals were :—

I. Oxford Treble Bob.	III. Kent Treble Bob.
II. College Single.	IV. Single Bob minor.

The ringers were as follows :—

1st Bell, Thomas Martin.
2nd ,, Isaac Hodgson, Sen. (Sexton).
3rd ,, Joseph Grave.
4th ,, John Fleming.
5th ,, Stephen Graves.
6th ,, George Holmes.

This achievement was not accomplished without much practice, they tried six times and failed, but went through without a mistake on the seventh time.

In 1851, the ringers account was £14 9s.

In 1855, regular wages £13 1s. Ringing on the victory of the Alma £1 extra.

In 1857, wages raised to £16 4s. per annum, being at the rate of 1s. per day each, including Christmas day and Good Friday.

In 1880, the Rev. T. K. Richmond, M.A., then Vicar of Crosthwaite, (and now Canon of Carlisle) finding two of the bells cracked, was instrumental in having these re-cast, and having the peal increased to an octave. The Rev. Dr. Raven preached for the fabric fund in that year, and mentioned the condition of the bells. Miss Rooke undertook the cost of recasting one of the bells, and Canon Richmond set about having the work done. In this he was ably assisted by Mrs Richmond, who collected subscriptions, both in the parish, and also from the descendants of those who subscribed to the peals of 1775. Subscriptions came in from far and near, one from Mr. Hodgson, from South Africa, he being a son of the present senior ringer in the belfry. The tenor is 15 cwt. nearly, and its cost was £115 3s. 1d. when put into its place complete.

complete. Mr. Richmond published a very interesting account in the Crosthwaite Parish Magazine, in the months of September, October, and November, 1882. The total cost of recasting of the fifth and seventh, and a first and tenor altogether new, with new wheels, and the whole re-eung, making the octave, as it is now in the tower, amounted to £350.

The following inscriptions are cast upon the bells:—

1.—In memory of Arthur Dover, who died January 30, 1874.

"I love the bell that calls the poor to pray,
Chiming from village church its cheerful sound."

SOUTHEY.

2.—Although I am both light and small
I will be heard among you all.

3.—If you have a judicious ear,
You'll own my voice is sweet and clear.

4.—Such wondrous power to music given
It elevates the soul to heaven.

5.—Peace and good neighbourhood.

Re-cast 1882.—T. K. Richmond, M.A., Vicar; J. Fisher Crosthwaite, F.S.A.; Jonathan Harryman; Mark Cockbain, Churchwardens.

6.—Music is medicine to the mind.

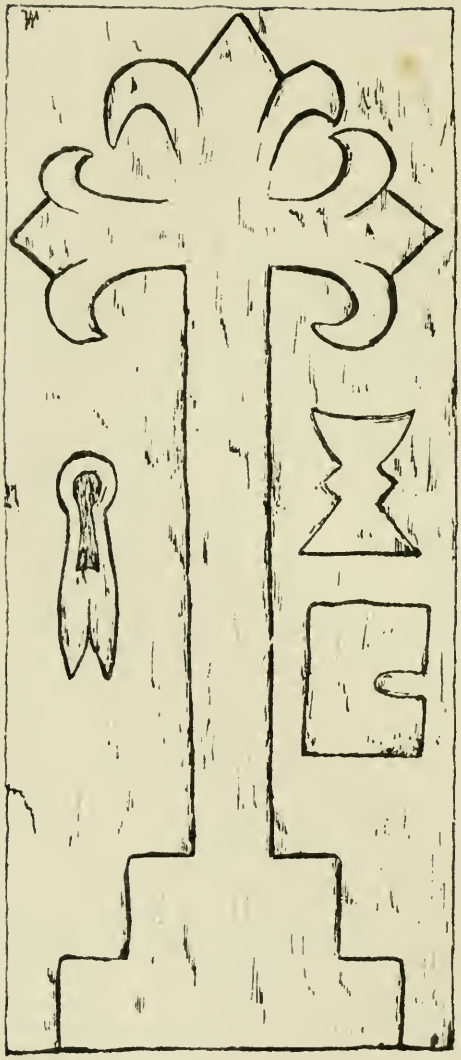
7.—In wedlock's banns all ye who join,
With hands your hearts unite;
So shall our tuneful tongues combine
To laud the nuptial rite.

Re-cast by Mary Sterndale Rooke, 1882.

8.—In Memory of James and Joshua Stanger, brothers, Benefactors of this Parish.

"Over the vale the heavy toll of death
Sounds slow; it makes me think upon the dead.'

SOUTHEY.



SLAB IN MELMERBY CHURCH.

ART. VII—*An attempt to elucidate the meaning of Shears, combined with Clerical Emblems, on certain incised Grave-slabs, at Dearham and Melmerby.* By THOS. LEES, M.A.

Read at Melmerby, July 11th, 1884.

SHEARS in various forms, alone and in various combinations, are common on incised grave-slabs, and various examples, with theories as to their respective meanings, will be found in Boutell's Christian Monuments (pp. 81 to 97; edition of 1854), and other Antiquarian works. But hitherto one combination, that of the shears with the peculiarly clerical emblems of book, or book and chalice, has puzzled all enquirers.

In the county of Cumberland, we have three examples of this strange conjunction, viz :—

1st. A slab formerly found at Dearham church, and now preserved carefully at Dovenby Hall, and ascribed by Mr. Cutts to the 14th century.

2nd. Another still at Dearham church. Till the recent restoration it did duty as a coping stone on the porch. This also is of 14th century work, but rather plainer design and ruder in workmanship than the former.

Both these slabs have the shears on the dexter side of the cross, and the "book" on the sinister.

3rd. Our third example is still *in situ*, on the floor of Melmerby church; it seems to me of the 13th century date. The shears are on the dexter, and book and chalice on the sinister of the cross. In R. Singleton's very quaint account of Melmerby, written in 1677, this slab is de-

* Pictures of both these slabs are in the fifth volume of these Transactions, p. 153. The first is engraved in Lyson's History of Cumberland, pl. 2, p. cxcv. Cutt's Sepulchural Slabs, pl. lxiii. Boutell's Church Monuments, p. 93. The two last authors have copied the engraving given in Lysons, without finding out that it is inaccurate in many details.

scribed

scribed as a "through stone, on which ther is cut out the like crosse, with somewhat like a paire of wool shears on the south side thereof, and a challice, under which a masse book on the north side thereof."

Both Boutell and Cutts give another example (13th century) at Bakewell Church, in Derbyshire. Shears on dexter, and book on sinister, as in the two Dearham stones, and in speaking of this, and No. 1, Mr. Boutell says: "the only explanation of this singular combination of symbols, which I can offer, is, that each of these stones was intended to commemorate two persons," (Christian Monuments, p. 94); and Mr. Cutts is equally at fault. "Shears and book" says he, "difficult of explantion. May not the book be in fact a comb with the teeth omitted or obliterated?" There can be no doubt, that on the Dearham stones, the square object is nothing but a book, and if there were any doubt, there is still the Melmerby case of shears, undoubted book, and chalice to dispose of.

All antiquarians are, I believe, agreed, that the "book" represents the "Textus," or Book of the Gospels, which was given to a deacon at his ordination by the bishop; and the chalice is regarded as the emblem of a priest. How then do we account for the presence of such purely secular implements as shears in combination with these?

I may here notice that the shears in this combination are all of the sharp-pointed style, not the broad-pointed found on cloth dressers' or wool dealers' graves. In a beautiful 12th century MS. Life of S. Guthlac, the hermit, now in the British Museum, (Harley Roll Y 6) one medallion represents the important rite of tonsure being conferred on Guthlac at the monastery of Repton, by Bishop Hedda, of Winchester. The bishop vested, and attended by a surpliced deacon holding the service book, holds his pastoral staff in his left hand, and grasps in his right hand a pair of sharp-pointed scissors, like those on these slabs, with which he is clipping the abundant locks off the saint.

You

You will observe that on all these stones the shears are on the dexter side of the central cross. From this fact, my conclusion is, that they indicate *a distinction in the ecclesiastical ranks—some honourable office held by the individual cleric commemorated.* What was that office?

All students of Ecclesiastical History know the great importance attached by the Christian Church to the question of the Tonsure. During the natural convulsions, consequent on the breaking up of the Roman empire, this clerical distinction had assumed three different forms in the three different branches of the Church Catholic. The Eastern clerics had the whole of the head denuded of hair; the Romans removed the hair from the apex of the head, and left around the space a fringe of hair, called "the Crown," from its being intended to represent the Crown of Thorns; the Keltic church clipped all the hair in front of a line drawn from ear to ear, over the top of the head, and allowed the back hair to grow long. After the conversion of the English by the Roman missions, they took the Roman (or Petrine, as it was called) fashion, while the British Christians, owing their Christianity to Ireland, adhered to the Keltic form. Next to the time of observance of Easter, the form of the Tonsure was one of the great subjects of difference discussed between the representatives of the British and English Christians, at the Council of Whitby (A.D. 664); there it was decided that the Roman fashion should be adopted by all clerics. Notwithstanding this, the Celts in great numbers, clung to the old fashion, and when on the death of Deusdedit, Pope Gregory appointed Theodore of Tarsus, to the see of Canterbury, the latter had to tarry at Rome four months till his hair (which had been entirely removed, after the eastern mode) had grown sufficiently long for him to be tonsured in the Roman manner, lest he should seem to countenance the Britons in their errors. After the entire Western Church had adopted the Roman, or Petrine form, the Tonsure was still

a matter of importance, not as formerly, on account of its distinguishing members of one branch of the Catholic Church from members of another, but as being the main distinction between clerics of whatever order and lay-folk. Then, as now-a-days, the clergy were apt to adopt lay ways and costumes; but though a priest might disguise himself in layman's clothes, he could not also adopt his long locks, or make his own close-clipped poll grow hirsute at will. Bishops and Councils fulminated threats and punishments against such worldly-minded ecclesiastics. To support the canons of the Church, the deans rural were to set a good example of walking decently attired "*in habitu clericali, et cappis clausis utentur*," being in their own persons "*honeste tonsi et coronati*." The Provincial Council of Oxford, (A.D. 1222) under Archbishop Langton, in its 28th canon enacts this, with this penal consequence; that all violators of the law were liable to the correction of their superiors; but a previous Provincial Council at York, under Hubert Walter (A.D. 1195) having enjoined both Crown and Tonsure on the clergy generally, adds, "that if any *unbeneficed* priests contemptuously refused the distinction, (for the beneficed were brought to submission by deprivation) they were to be *clipped* against their wills, by archdeacon or deans." If the dean himself departed from the true canonical vesture, crown and tonsure, he was, in case of contumacy, *ipso facto* suspended from office and emolument, by the 5th Legatine Constitution of Cardinal Deacon Othobon, (A.D.) 1268). "Again, by the constitution of William de Bleys, Bishop of Worcester, (A.D. 1219) if a *clericus*, duly *shaven and shorn* were made prisoner by the civil power, the *dean rural* was to intercede for his absolute and immediate liberation," or at least for his surrender to the custody of the church. But when thus liberated, by virtue of his clerical privileges, and the power intrusted to the *dean* by the bishop, for that purpose, if the said *clericus* was found to be insufficiently

"*tonsoratus*

"*tonsoratus vel coronatus*," he was to suffer condign punishment at the hands of the bishop, "*pro incompetenti tonsoratione vel coronatione*."

Seeing then, as we do in these passages (which I quote almost verbatim, from Dansey's "Horæ Decanicæ Rurales, vol. ii., pp. 267-270)," the importance attached in mediæval times to the preservation of the clerical Tonsure, and that the charge of this preservation was intrusted to rural deans and archdeacons, I *think* when we find the shears by which the Tonsure was effected and preserved, in conjunction with clerical symbols on memorial stones, we may safely conclude that the ecclesiastic thus commemorated, has either held office as a rural dean, or "discharged archidiaconal functions."

EXCURSIONS AND PROCEEDINGS.

July 10th and 11th, 1884.

THE sixteenth annual meeting of this Society, was held on Thursday and Friday, July 10th and 11th, 1884; Alston being the place selected as head quarters.

The principal portion of the members intending to take part in the proceedings assembled at the Citadel Station, Carlisle, from which they travelled to Haltwhistle by the two o'clock train, and afterwards proceeded to Alston by special train. Among those present were:— Mr. Ferguson, F.S.A., Carlisle; Mr. W. Nanson, F.S.A., Carlisle; Mr. Cartmell, Miss Cartmell, Mr. J. Cartmell, Carlisle; Mr. H. B. Lonsdale, Rosehill; the Rev. T. Lees, M.A., Wreay; Miss Kuper, Hawksdale Hall; Captain Irwin, Lynehow; Mr. W. Browne, Tallentire; Mr. Horrocks and Miss Horrocks, Eden Brows; Rev. Canon Weston, Crosby Ravensworth; Mr. T. Hesketh-Hodgson, Newby Grange; Mr. A. Peile, Workington; Rev. J. Brunskill, Threlkeld; Rev. R. Bower and Mr. J. A. Rayner, St. Cuthbert's Vicarage, Carlisle; Mr. T. Wilson, Kendal (secretary); Mr. Varty, Stagstones; Rev. J. A. Burrow and Mrs. Burrow, Ireby; Rev. J. Greenwood, Uldale; Mr. Robert Walker, Kendal; Mr. T. Lewis Banks and Mrs. Banks, Whitehaven; Mr. T Parker Dixon, London; Mr. M. Lionel à Rainbach, London; Professor and Mrs. Hughes, Cambridge; Rev. H. Whitehead, Keswick, and party; Mr. and Mrs. George Peile and Miss Peile, Shotley Bridge; the Rev. W. S. Calverley, Dearham.

On the train from Haltwhistle arriving at Alston, a thunderstorm was raging, and rain falling in torrents. So disheartening was the aspect of things, that it was deemed advisable to wait half-an-hour in the station, to see if the weather might clear up a little. In the meantime the carriages which had been engaged for the party were waiting outside, the poor horses and drivers presenting a picture of patient endurance. At the end of half-an-hour, the party, notwithstanding the fact that little or no cessation had taken place in the merciless downpour of rain, proceeded to the Blue Bell Hotel, about five minutes' walk from the station. It was at first contemplated to abandon the afternoon's expedition, but one or two of the gentlemen said they would go, rain or no rain, and one or two ladies would go with them, so presently the whole party entered the carriages in waiting at the hotel door, and though it had only partially cleared up, they proceeded to Whitley Camp, about two and a half

half miles along the Carlisle road. On reaching The Raise, the house of Mr. Dickinson, they were joined by Dr. Bruce, F.S.A. Crossing the Gilderdale burn, the party entered Northumberland, and after travelling about a mile and a half, along a rough and hilly road, reached Castlenook farm, where they halted and got out of the carriages ; they then walked up the hill-side to the camp. The rain by this time had again become very heavy, and against it the waterproofs and umbrellas gave almost no protection. The party gathered on one of the large knolls, which characterise the camp, and as they crowded together to hear what Mr. Ferguson, or Dr. Bruce, or Professor Hughes had to say about the peculiarities of the camp, they formed, according to the Carlisle Journal, "the most dismal sight we have seen for some time." The antiquaries however, as at the Low Borrow Bridge camp, and at Kirkby Lonsdale last year, took their ill-luck with good humour enough, and did not allow the rain to hurry them in the least, but deliberately perambulated round the camp and instituted a search for Roman pottery, which was successful, several fragments of the black or Durobrivian ware being found. Professor Hughes said that the kind of evidence to look for, in order to form an opinion as to the age of such earthworks as those at Whitley, was that which could be derived from other similar entrenchments the age of which was known ; that comparing the works at Whitley, with for instance, a similar camp in North Wales he had found by excavations in the latter place that in the surface layer, there were Roman remains ; but in the fosse, and lower layers, only British remains : this camp was known to have been occupied by Owain Gwynedd. At Cissbury, near Worthing, similar evidence had been found ; Roman remains occurred in the surface soil, and British remains below. The occurence, therefore, of Roman remains at Whitley, was not sufficient evidence that the camp was made by the Romans. From the character and arrangement of the entrenchments, he felt sure that the camp was of pre-Roman date, although it had been certainly occupied by the Romans. The reasons he gave for assigning it to pre-Roman date, were that the entrenchments conformed to the natural features of the ground, that they bifurcated and terminated abruptly, not abutting against any other line of defence, that they were numerous on the sides which required most defence, while on the steeper slopes there was hardly any artificial defence at all. In Roman entrenchments, on the contrary, the vallum and fosse ran regularly round, irrespective of the form of the surface.

Dr. Bruce was disposed to concur in these remarks, and Mr. Ferguson exhibited a copy of a most accurate survey of Whitley camp recently made for Dr. Hodgkin, who hopes shortly to excavate in

in the camp. After examining a Roman altar (No. 733 in the *Lapidarium Septentrionale*,) in the garden of the Castlenook Farm, the bedraggled archæologists returned to Alston about six o'clock, and began to make preparations for dinner in the Town Hall: a number of them visited the Church of St. Augustine, the parish church of Alston, before attacking the welcome meal.

ANNUAL MEETING.

After dinner, provided by the Blue Bell Hotel, the Annual Meeting of the Association was held, at the Town Hall. Mr. Ferguson presided, and there were also present, besides those already mentioned, the Rev. E. L. Bowman, Alston; Rev. O. James, Clarghyll Hall; Mr. T. Richardson, Coatlehill; Rev. W. Nall, curate of Alston; Mr. Joseph Dickinson, Lovelady Shield; Mr. Joseph Dickinson, junior, The Raise; Mr. T. W. Crawhall-Wilson, Alston House; and Mr. T. W. Lee, Randleholme. The minutes of the last meeting, which stated that the second meeting of the Society for the year, would be held in the south-west of Cumberland, were read by the secretary and adopted. A committee was appointed to make arrangements for the second meeting. The Chairman, for the Treasurer, submitted a balance sheet for the year. It showed that the year was begun with a balance of £248 to the good; that the annual subscriptions amounted to £162, the life subscriptions to £37, sales of back parts to £52 10s., the total, with bank interest, amounting to £505 10s. The expenditure had been unusually heavy, and it included, among other items, £98 for printing, and binding £32 for drawing, engraving, &c., and for transcribing the pre-Reformation Registers of the See of Carlisle £100, leaving a balance of £189 in favour of the Association. The Chairman congratulated the members on the receipts from the sale of reprints of back numbers, and upon the fact that they had such a large balance on hand, after having gone to the extraordinary expense of spending £100 in transcribing the Registers, which they hoped to make arrangements to publish. The accounts were adopted, after which the following officers of the Society were elected :—

PRESIDENT: The Rev. Canon Simpson, L.L.D., F.S.A.

VICE-PRESIDENTS: F. A. Argles, Esq.; James Atkinson, Esq.; E. B. W. Balme, Esq.; The Earl of Bective, M.P.; W. Browne, Esq.; James Cropper, Esq., M.P.; The Dean of Carlisle; H. F. Curwen, Esq.; Robt. Ferguson, Esq., M.P., F.S.A.; Right Hon. W. E. Forster, M.P.; George Howard, Esq., M.P.; W. Jackson, Esq., F.S A.; G. J. Johnson, Esq.; Hon. W. Lowther, M.P.; H. Fletcher Rigge,

Rigge, Esq.; M. W. Taylor, M.D., F.S.A., (Scot).; Hon Percy S. Wyndham, M.P.

Council, G. F. Braithwaite, Esq., Kendal; Rev. W. S. Calverley, Dearham; Isaac Cartmell, Esq., Carlisle; J. A. Cory, Esq., Carlisle; J. F. Crosthwaite, Esq., F.S,A., Keswick; C. J. Ferguson, F.S.A., Carlisle; T. F. I'Anson, Esq., M.D., Whitehaven; Rev. Thomas Lees, Wreay; W. Nanson, Esq., B.A., Carlisle; C. Wilkinson, Esq., Kendal; Rev. Canon Weston, Crosby Ravensworth.

Editor: R. S. Ferguson, Esq., M.A., LL.M., F.S.A., Carlisle.

Auditors: R. Nelson, Esq., Kendal; Frank Wilson, Esq., Kendal.

Treasurer: W. H. Wakefield, Esq., Sedgwick.

Secretary: Mr. T. Wilson, Kendal.

The following new members were elected: Mr. Horrocks, Eden Brows; Captain and Mrs. Irwin, Lynehow; Dr. Hodgkin, Benwell, Newcastle; Mr. James Atkinson, Ulverstone; Mr. R. B. Avery, Beda Lodge, Durham; Mr. Joseph Dickinson, The Raise; Mr. Riley, Ennim; Mrs. Alice Leitch, Keswick; Mr. John Watson, Kendal; the Rev. E. L. Bowman, Alston Vicarage; and the Rev. O. James, Clarghyll Hall, Alston.

The following papers were laid before the Society, and will be found printed in their proper places.

Report as to the Excavations at Borrow Bridge Camp.

Why Alston is in the diocese of Durham and in the county of Carlisle. R. S. Ferguson.

Remarks on Alston Manorial Records. W. Nanson.

Alston Antiquities. Rev. W. Nall.

Traditions of Crosthwaite Church Belfry. J. Fisher Crosthwaite.

The Armorial Bearings of the Braithwaites. W. Wiper.

The following exhibits were laid before the Society:—

By the Editor: bronze fibula and ring, found in site of Red Lion, Carlisle.

By the Rev. O. James, Vicar of Kirkhaugh, county Northumberland: communion cup and paten, from Kirkhaugh church.

By the Rev. E. L. Bowman, Vicar of Alston: two handled fluted porringer, used as a communion cup at Alston church, bearing the date 1726, and made by Isaac Collard of London.

By W. Dickinson, of Lovelady Shield: the Alstone Galloway plate, run for on Alston Moor, February 21, 1731; this bears the Newcastle plate mark.

By Mr. Horrocks: a stone trough from Knaresdale, on which is carved a figure seated at a millstone.

By Mr. Crawhall-Wilson: large model of a lead mine, in working order, made for an assize trial at Carlisle some years ago.

After

After breakfast on Friday morning, the party started in conveyances from the Blue Bell Hotel, shortly before ten o'clock, the route being over Hartside Fell to Penrith, calling at Melmerby, Cusby, Kirkland, and Crewgarth. The weather had cleared up, and only a very slight shower fell during the day. The excursion, therefore, so far as the mere outing was concerned, was pleasant throughout, while the storm of the previous day had cleared the atmosphere, and made it singularly suitable to the obtaining of distant views. On the way up Hartside Fell, the party examined the Maiden Way, and endeavoured to trace it in a northward direction from the point at which the road is supposed to have crossed it, but without success. On the south or Crossfell side of the road, however, Professor Hughes, Mr. Banks, and Mr. W. Nanson walked some distance along it, the remainder of the party continuing their journey at a slow pace. The six miles pull to the top of Hartside Fell, was accomplished shortly before twelve o'clock. The view which burst upon the travellers, on getting to the top, was magnificent, including the Lake District, and a great part of Cumberland, stretching as far as the Solway. Barrock Fell formed a prominent centre to the scene, and the waters of the Solway and Ullswater, were both visible at the same time. As the carriages rolled rapidly down the descent into the great plain of Cumberland, many were the acclamations of delight at the beauteous and changing landscape rolled out below. A brisk drive brought the party to Melmerby, where a halt was made at the "Crown Inn," a house which has not now a license to sell beer or spirits, but which still keeps up the old signboard. The public house next door to it gives us the curious sign of "The Good Shepherd," and the signboard seems to be a copy of some German print of our Lord in that character. The antiquaries at once proceeded to Melmerby Church, where the Rev. T. Lees read his paper on sepulchural slabs at Melmerby and Dearham, upon which the secular emblem of shears is combined with chalice and book. This will be found elsewhere in this volume. A lead chalice and paten of the 14th century, which had been buried in the coffin of a priest at Melmerby, were produced by the Rev. A. C. Pittar, the rector, who also submitted for inspection the plate of the church, now in use.* The Rev. H. Whitehead said he had obtained a rubbing of the bells. Upon them was the date 1715, the name of Wiggan, and the device of a bell.

* For this and other plate belonging to Melmerby, Ousby, and Kirkland, see "Old Church Plate, in the Diocese of Carlisle."

There

There were no initials to indicate the founder, but he knew from other bells that the founder's name was Ashton, the name being found on the treble of the Caldbeck Church bells. After a hurried lunch at the "Crown Inn," the party drove to Ousby Church, where in the chancel is preserved a figure in oak, on which Mr. Ferguson made the following remarks.

Effigy at Ousby Church.

Wooden effigies are comparatively rare, compared with those of stone, but another one exists within this county, viz., at Millom. The one before us is generally said to be that of a crusader, an idea arising from its having its legs crossed, but the notion that crossed legs indicates a crusader is now exploded. It was a mere artifice of the sculptor, in fashion during the 13th and early part of the 14th century. This effigy is frequently ascribed to a Templar, the long surcoat being taken for the mantle of a Templar, but inspection will in this case clearly show the garment to be a surcoat, and not a mantle. This effigy, too, has no beard, which a Templar always had. The person here represented is entirely clad in mail, except genouillieres or knee caps of plate or leather; his coif de mail covers his head and shoulders; he has hauberk and chausses of mail; under the hauberk he has a haqueton or gambeson; over all, a long sleeveless surcoat, slit up the front to above the knee; his spurs are gone, but the spur straps remain; a narrow guige is over his shoulder, but the shield it should support is gone; a narrow cingulum is round his waist, and a broader sword belt hangs below, but the sword is gone except the hilt; his legs are crossed at the knee, and his feet rest upon a dog. The date seems first half 13th century. The work is beautifully executed, and was once painted in brilliant colours. It may be noted, that the mail on the legs is banded mail, on the arms chain or ring. The effigy was formerly in a recess, on the south side of the nave, now plastered up. The question is, who is this effigy intended to represent? Evidently a man of consequence. Bishop Nicolson, in his visitation, mentions a tradition, that he was an outlaw who dwelt in Crewgarth, which we shall presently visit, and who was killed hunting on the neighbouring mountain, which is still called Baronside. I think there may be some truth in this. The manor of Ousby (according to the county histories) was at a very early time divided into moities and small subdivisions. Hence there is no castle or manor house. In the time of Henry III., the manor was held in moities, by Julian Falcard and William Armstrong; the effigy may represent one of them, who may have had a castle of wood at Crewgarth.

The party after leaving Ousby Church, where they were joined by its rector, proceeded to Kirkland Church, in the chancel of which Mr. Ferguson pointed out a stone effigy, on which he remarked.

Effigy at Kirkland Church.

This effigy is much worn, having been long exposed outside the church; so worn that the details can hardly be made out. It is later than the one at Ousby, as it has sleeves to the surcoat, coming half way down the arm: the surcoat, which is remarkable for its length, is not slit up the front; the head is bare. A similar effigy is in the Temple church, but has the surcoat slit up the front. The date is later half of 13th century, and the effigy probably represents a Fleming.

A short walk brought the party to Rangbeck, where Mr. Goodchild's paper, (ante p. 40) on the earthworks called "The Hanging Gardens of Mark Antony" was read.

Crewgarth.

The earthwork known as "Crewgarth fort" was reached about a quarter past four. The road between Ousby and Langwathby runs through the middle of it; it is an irregular area enclosed within an inner and outer rampart with a ditch between them.

Professor Hughes and Mr. Ferguson made a few observations as to who the people were who had made the fort. Mr. Ferguson said he suspected that it was a moated site of an Anglo-Saxon or Mediæval fort or grange. In this view Professor Hughes concurred, adding that whatever the fort was it certainly was not Roman. Before the party resumed their journey, the people at the farm-house produced some stones which had been found in levelling a portion of the outer rampart. One of the stones was the upper stone of a quern, another a mortar, and a third looked like a celt, but was so much decayed on the surface, that Professor Hughes said he could not say whether it was natural or artificial. The mortar, he added, was similar to some he had seen in Ireland, which had been used for pressing herbs for the cattle. A farm servant mentioned that a metal ball had been found in the bank, weighing two or three pounds, but it was lost. The party, passing through Langwathby, reached Penrith about six o'clock, where they separated.

September 25th and 26th, 1884.

On Thursday and Friday the 25th and 26th of September, the members of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society, held their second meeting for 1884, in the district between Seascale and Broughton-in-Furness. The *rendezvous* on Thursday was at Eskmeals Station, where waggonettes were waiting. Amongst those present were the following:—Mr. W. Browne, Tallentire; Mr. J. and Miss Deakin, Ellerhow; Mr. H. Fletcher Rigge, Cartmel; Mr. John Nanson, Carlisle; Mr. C. and Mrs. Vaughan, Millom; the Rev. John Cartmell, Asfordby; Mr. Isaac Cartmell; the Rev. W. H. Wilkinson, Hensingham; Mr. and Mrs. Harrison, Newby Bridge; Mr. E. T. B. and Mrs. Lillywhite, Millom; Mr. W. B., Mrs. and Miss Arnison, Penrith; the Rev. W. and Mrs. Barton, Millom; Mr. J. Simpson, Roman Way; the Rev. T. Greenwood, Uldale; Miss Kuper, Dalston; Mr. J. A. Cory, Carlisle; Mr. T. H. Hodgson, Newby Grange; Mr. R. Hellon, Seascale; Dr. I'Anson, Whitehaven; Mrs. Hewertson, Grange-over-Sands;

Grange-over-Sands; Mr., Mrs. and Miss Rea, Eskdale, Holmrook; Dr. Parker, Haverigg House, Gosforth; Miss Gibson, Whelprigg; Miss Preston, Settle; Mr. C. J. Ferguson, Carlisle; the Rev. J. K. Pughe, Irton; the Rev. T. Ellwood, Torver; the Rev. J. and Mrs. Irving, Millom; the Rev. T. and Mrs. Hackworth; the Rev. G. Breffitt; Mr. W. I. Barratt; and Mr. T. Wilson, (hon. sec.) Kendal.

The first place visited was the church at Waberthwaite, an unpretending little edifice, not presenting at first sight any remarkable or noteworthy features. On the party entering the church, Mr. C. J. Ferguson, F.S.A., made some observations upon the historical and architectural interest of the church. It was, he said, practically a Norman Church, with new windows added to it, and portions of an ancient cross were built in the threshold of the porch and above the doorway. The pulpit is of seventeen century work, and is dated 1630, and is the gift of Abraham Chambers. There is an inscription carved on the front of the pulpit, in raised wooden letters, which runs as follows:—"THE GIFT OF ABRAHAM CHAMBERS, GENT. VÆ MIHI SI NON VERUM PRÆDICO. SR 1630." The inscription is carved in three lines, and the last line bearing the words, "DICO. SR 1630," is a separate strip of wood, as if that inscription had been at some time or other restored. The party next went by Muncaster, up the the beautiful valley of the Esk, and the day, which at the opening was rather cloudy, having now turned out very fine, the drive was a most enjoyable one. Shortly after crossing the bridge over the Esk, the conveyances were met by a messenger from Muncaster Castle, who brought specimens of Roman tiles, taken from the recently discovered Roman tile-kiln, to visit which was the next object of the excursion. Under the guidance of Mr. Ross, Lord Muncaster's agent, the party followed the new road which Lord Muncaster is cutting to join the bridge at the Forge: while this was being done, the kiln was discovered. It is between three and four feet high, and the semi-circular front has a radius of about four feet. The apertures of two flues remain, and the arched entrance to the main flue can be distinctly traced, though a portion of it was destroyed when the kiln was uncovered. The tiles found here are roof and floor tiles. They are burnt red, if anything rather soft, and about an inch and a quarter to an inch and a half thick: most of them are broken, but the fragments would indicate that the tiles have been originally about six inches square. They all bear on the surface the diamond groove pattern, found on the tiles at Walls Castle.

Near the conclusion of the new road, another halt was made, to inspect the remains of a piece of what is supposed to have been an old Roman

Roman road, leading to the garrison at Hardknott. Thence the visitors went to Dalegarth Hall, where Dr. Parker, Mr. C. J. Ferguson, and Mr. Cory offered a few general observations upon the principal features of the building.

From Dalegarth the party went up Eskdale, past the Woolpack, to Hardknott Camp or Castle as it is indifferently called. The camp lies not quite half-way up the ascent leading to Hardknott Pass, at an altitude of about 500 feet above the sea level, and some two or three hundred yards to the left of the road over the pass. The remains occupy the summit of what is found to be, on arriving there, the chief of a number of hillocks, of which the broken face of the fell is constituted. This summit has been enclosed by an outer wall, which must at one time have been of very great strength and solidity, for the ruins of it, which now remain, are spread over a considerable width of ground on three sides of the camp; on the remaining side many of them have been removed for building fell fences. What remains is a rough irregular line of large stones, level to the ground on the inside of the camp, and spread over a width of three or four yards—in some places more than this—and then falling down the sides of the hillock a considerable distance. The stones have been apparently roughly broken and built together in much the same fashion as the ordinary fell wall, except that the stones used are a great deal larger, and the whole work has been on a scale of such magnitude as must have entailed considerable labour. On the east side there are the remains of a gate, having on one side of it a guardroom, the outlines of the walls of which can be traced amongst the fragments lying around. The whole space enclosed is probably over a hundred yards square. In the centre are very distinct remains of a building. After a short stay in the camp, the party descended to the "Woolpack," where they obtained some slight refreshments. Seascale was reached at seven o'clock. After dinner, at the Scawfell Hotel, Dr. Parker took the chair. The following new members were elected:—

The Rev. H. A. Macpherson, St. James Road, Carlisle; Mr. E. T. B. Lillywhite, Millom; Mr. James Pennington Burns, Greenodd, Ulverston; Mr. J. R. Ford, Headingley, Leeds; Mr. John Walker Ford, Chase Park, Enfield, Middlesex; Miss Wood, St. George's Crescent, Carlisle; Mr. Joseph Adair, Egremont; Miss Trimble, Dalston; Mr. John Coward, Ulverston; Alderman Whitehead, Highfield House, Catford Bridge; the Rev. K. M. Pughe, Irton; the Rev. J. Baker, Netherwasdale; the Rev. W. L. Taylor, Distington; Mr. Jonas and Miss Lindow, Ehen Hall.

The

The following papers were then read :—

The Registers at Gosforth. Dr. Parker.

The Camp at Infell, Ponsonby. Dr. Parker.

and some other papers which will be printed in these Transactions were taken as read.

Friday morning broke very wet and stormy, and at first it appeared as if the excursionists were in for a thoroughly wet day. However, from nine o'clock the weather improved, and though it was not until the afternoon that the day was as fine as the preceding one, still the party escaped rain. A start was made by the 9·45 train for Broughton-in Furness. At Foxfield Junction there was a wait of three-quarters of an hour, while changing trains. An advantage was taken of this to enable the Rev. T. Ellwood, of Torver, to read a very interesting paper which he had prepared, on the North Furness Bloomeries, or small iron forges, remains of many of which are found amongst the extensive coppice woods of that district. A short discussion followed the reading of the paper, in the course of which Mr. Fletcher Rigge supplemented Mr. Ellwood's observations by his own experience of bloomeries in the neighbourhood of Windermere, and gave it as his opinion that in some cases the ore was probably carried about on pack horses and smelted as occasion might require, seeing that the scoriæ existed in portions of the district, remote from the presence of iron ore.

On arrival at Broughton, Broughton Tower, the seat of Mr. Sawrey Cookson, was visited; the kernel of the residence consists of a peel tower, the residence of Sir Thomas Broughton, who was out in 1487 with Lambert Semnel, and of whom the legend long survived that he escaped the battle of Stoke-upon-Trent, and lived in concealment among his tenants in Witherslack (*Stockdale's Annales Caermoelenses*, p. 20). Leaving Broughton in conveyances from the Old King's Head, the party proceeded by the pretty but somewhat mountainous road which leads to Millom, making a stop, first of all, at the old Duddon charcoal furnaces, near to which they were shown the remains of a small patch of *scoriæ* from one of the bloomeries similar to those described by the Rev. T. Ellwood in his paper. Broadgate was next visited, and from that place, the party next took on foot the fell road to the Stone Circle at Swineside, of which a plan and account by Mr. C. W. Dymond, F.S.A., is in these Transactions, vol. v. pp. 39-47. After leaving the the circle, the party were driven to Millom Church, where a paper was read by the Rev. J. Irving. Millom Castle was next visited, which terminated the excursion. An account of that castle, by Canon Knowles, with plan, is in the first volume of these Transactions, p. 27 .

ART. VIII.—*Gosforth Registers.* By CHAS. A. PARKER, M.D., F.R.C.S.E.

Read at Seascale, September 25th, 1884.

THE benefice of Gosforth is a Rectory, the details of which are entered in the Valor Ecclesiasticus of Henry VIII., as follows,

Gosforthe Rectoria Eccl'ie.

Edw'dus Kellett, incumbens Rector' p'dca.

	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Mansione cum gleba per annum	—xxxvij—	
Decim' granos. vij*l.* ijs. viij*d.* lan' et agnell' iiij*l.* xiijs. minut' et privat' decim' cum oblac' ut in libro paschal' iiij*l.* viijs. iiij*d.* In tot'	xvj iij —	xviij — xij
Repris' viz in Sinod' ijs. j*d.* procurac' iiijs. v*d.*		— vj vj
Et valet clare		xvij xiij vij
Xma ps. inde		—xxxv v ob'

The total value is £17 14s. 7d. It was certified to the governors of Queen Anne's Bounty, at the clear yearly improved value of £35, and to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners at £85 per annum. When the commons were enclosed in 1811 the tithes were commuted, lands being allotted to the Rev. Henry Bragg, then Rector, in their stead. This has greatly injured the living, as "Priest's Park" is now worth only £30 yearly, whereas the tithes would amount to £150 at least.

In 1334 (8th Edward III.), William Pennington, of Muncaster, Esq., died, seized of the advowson of this Church. Afterwards the patronage seems to have become vested in the crown, as in 1552 (6th Edward VI), that king by

by his letters patent granted the advowson and right of patronage to Fergus Greyme, gentleman, his heirs and assigns. Twelve years later a license dated 22nd March, 1564 (6th Elizabeth), was granted to Fergus, empowering him to alienate the same (holden of the queen in capite) to Thomas Senhouse of Seascale, gentleman, for the fine of 16s. 10d. paid into the hanaper. It continued in the possession of the Senhouse family until 1688, when it probably passed with the manor by sale from John Senhouse to Mr. Blacklock of Whitehaven, whose daughter Frances married Augustus Earle, Esq., from whom it passed to his two sisters, coheiresses, and eventually to the Lutwidges of Holmrook, whose arms appear on the bowl of the sacramental cup—azure three chapeaux or caps of maintenance, or, turned up ermine,—with the inscription :

Ex dono Car. Lutwidge Arm. Patr. Ecclesiae Gosforthiae Anno 1784.

After the death of Charles Lutwidge, manor and advowson were purchased by Samson Senhouse, Esq., from whom they passed to his brother, Sir Humphrey le Fleming Senhouse, whose widow sold the advowson to Lord Lonsdale, in whose family it still remains.

The names of fourteen Rectors are known :—

Edward Kellett - - -	in 1535.
Thomas Thompson - -	1571.
Nicholas Copeland- - -	1592.
Peter Hudson- - - -	1636.
John Benn - -	20 Oct., 1662 pres. by J. Senhouse Esq.
Thomas Morland -	23 April, 1676 Do. do.
Christopher Denton - -	1721.
Peter Murthwaite -	12 Aug., 1738 pres. by A. Earle, Esq.
Charles Cobb Church	11 May, 1772 pres. by Bulmer & Calder, Esqs.
Henry Bragg - - -	1808.
James Lowther Senhouse -	1827.
Francis Ford Pinder - -	1835.
James Albert Cheese -	10 Oct. 1861 pres. by Lady Senhouse.
John Wordsworth- - -	1878.

And

And as a witness to a deed by which William de Esseby and Hectred, his wife, grant

Beckeremet and its appurtenances

to the Abbey of Calder, we have the name of an earlier ecclesiastic :—

Jurdanus, persona de Goseford.

The Registers commence in 1571. The first volume contains the remains of at least three older volumes, the parchment leaves of which have been stitched together by some pious hand, and so preserved for our perusal. The first section, 1571-1673, is bound in two leaves of an ancient missal or psalm book, in black letter of various colours, with illuminated capital letters. Half of each page, vertically, is taken up by the letterpress, and the other half by the music to which it was to be sung. On the first page, which is otherwise blank, is the signature of Peter Hudson, rector of Gosforth, 1636, followed by a pitiful appeal from one Thomas Sherwen, of Field End,

To his neighbours and well-disposed Christian people,

for assistance to enable him to replace his dwelling-house and household goods, which had been destroyed by fire.

The next page commences boldly in capital letters—

Registarius sive—

but all the rest of the page has been deliberately cut away with a knife, which has injured the page underneath.

On the third page it commences afresh—

Registarius pro pochia de Gosforthe inchoatus, Anno Dni, 1571. Thoma Thomson tunc rectore ibi.

The first name has a Norse termination,

Secundo die Mensis Martii Willmus filius Thomæ Postlegwaitt de Totteriggs baptizatus fuit.

From 1571-1583, the Register is a manifest copy of an older one. It is neatly written, all in the same hand-writing. Under Baptizati, 1578, are three entries, followed

lowed by the words,

Desunt Reliqui,

and again under

Sepulti, 1579,

are the same words, and in 1583 under a single marriage entry :—

Desunt reliquæ diæ quæ Rectore Thoma Thomson contigerunt.

There are many entries in this part of the register of baptisms and and burials of people from Wasdale.

The name of Senhouse occurs for the first time in 1576,

xxi die Sept. Lancelot filius Thomæ Senhouse, Armiger, baptizatus fuit.

The family of Senhouse sprang from a hamlet in Gosforth parish, now called Hall Senna, but originally Hall Sevenhouse or Senhouse. It is spelt Hall Seaney, Hal Seanow, Hal Sanay, Hal Senay, Hal Senow, Halsean house, Hallsen house, Halsevenhouse, Hallsena. In the same way Julian holme (from Julian the martyr) is written Gillianholme, 1600; Gillian how, 1602; Gillen home, 1606; Gillinghow, 1667; Gylyon houm, 1699; Julyan holne, 1711; Gyllian holm, 1712.

From 1583 to 1592 the registers are missing. A new volume was then commenced by

Nicolaus Copeland tunc rectore ibi.

From the regularity of the entries, this also seems to be a fair copy. It continues to the year 1600, at the bottom of which page Nicolas has signed his name, with some remark in Latin, which runs

Facta collat concordat * * * Nicolao Copeland clerico Rectore. * * * et chartacas fecit Johes Fletiger * * * edimis.

On the first page is scrawled a signature, John Copley, 1679. Probably one of the Copleys of Gosforth Hall. On the first page, 1572, are many names still remaining in the parish, viz :—Moscrop, (now Mossop) Benson, Jackson, Pooll, Suddert (now Southward), Nicholson, Willson

Willson, etc. Also, Cowpland and Caddie. The name which occurs most frequently throughout the register is Poole, spelt variously, Pool, Pooll, Poole, Powe, Pow. It is constantly connected with Hallsenhouse, and a descendant of the family I am glad to say holds land there to this day. Seascale, spelt Seaskaill, is first mentioned in 1576, and Parknook in 1575. Skaill means a shelter for cattle. Wasdale occurs as a surname in 1572. The family is scarcely now extinct.

1572 Johannis fili Johannis Wasdaill bap.

Other surnames occuring early are Tubman, Eilbeck, Patrickson, Byby, Ben, Gaytskaill, Borradell, Sherwen, and Ashburner. In 1596,

vi die Decembris Johis filius Briani Parker, baptizatus fuit.

And in the same year the following houses are mentioned: Blengbrowe, Blaywath, Sourmyrr, Peelplace, Thornbank, Howbarrow (probably Hurlbarrow).

In 1596-97 the plague scourged the parish of Gosforth terribly. In 1595 there were but ten burials; in 1596 they rose to 56; and in 1597 to 116, dropping back in the next year to 17. Counting from January 1st to December 31st, in 1586, there were 36 burials, and in 1597, 131. Amongst the plague burials are

xxiiii die Decembris Willm^s^ fili^s^ Johis Senhouse de Seaskail.
Eode die puella pauperula peregrina.

a poor female tramp.

viii die Junii Margaretta ux Johis Bewes Clerici sepulta fuit.
x die Julii Margaretta ux Rici Punsonby de Briggpetton.
Elisa relict Edwardi Hudson extranea.

At this time the population of the parish did not exceed 650, but notwithstanding this dreadful mortality, marrying and giving in marriage went on even faster than usual. In 1595 only four couples were united, but in 1596 seven, and

and in 1597 eleven, a number unprecedented in this register, and not again attained for 43 years. I have noticed similar facts in other registers. It seems as if the young people were married hurriedly to replace the population. In the next year, 1598, there are but two marriages; in 1599 they rise to nine, but in 1600 there is only one, and under 1601 and 1602, are the decisive words,

Noe weddings this yeare.

In 1603 there are four marriages, but of the four husbands one comes from St. Bridget's, one from Ponsonby, and one from Whitehaven. Under 1600 is a remarkable entry,

xix die Julii Ricus et Johes Sowyarde felones de se immolati fuere.

a double suicide, both being men, a rarity of itself. "Immolati" certainly does not mean Christian burial, and that being the case, why was it inserted in the church register? It sounds like a stake and cross roads business, and if so, was very probably performed at Cross Lonnins, just outside the village. In 1597, an order was issued, for the copying of the registers on parchment. Accordingly we find up to the end of 1600 a regular small handwriting, with the signature of Nicolaus Cowpland. In 1601, a new, large, and very distinct hand appears, but speedily loses the regularity shown by the preceding. From 1601 to 1636, no rector's name appears. About this period Dorothea is a common name. In 1605 the baptism of Elicia Senhouse is twice recorded. The register is regularly kept up to 1612, when a gap of 20 years occurs. This was in the reign of Charles I. On the back of the page containing the entries for 1612, are seven entries of the Senhouse family; the births of John and Wrightington, sons of John of Seascale Hall, Wrightington being born

About half an hour before day;

the

the births of Wrightington's four children, and his burial. The next page is dated 1632, and has but one entry, and the register is badly kept until 1636, when Peter Hudson seems to have become rector. In the same year

Dorothea filia Petri Hudson sepulta fuit.

In 1637

Thomas filius Wilielmi Hudson peregrini

was baptised. In 1638 two Stricklands occur, Elenora and Marmaduke; also two Irtons in 1639—

Christopherus Irton de Windhall undecimo die Decembris, Sep. fuit.
Mabella filia Richardi Irton 29 mo die Martii sepulta fuit.

The name of Tyson, now so common in the parish, occurs for the first time in 1639—

Joseph Tyson, of Peel place.

Peter Hudson evidently kept the register himself; his writing is large, but sadly crowded, as many as forty entries in one page. Still it is much better than the crabbed entry in 1644, which records:

Peter Hudson, rector de Gosforth, sepultus fuit ye ii of August.

The entries again become erratic, and are absent altogether from 1649 to 1662 (exclusive) almost the exact duration of the Commonwealth. There are two interpolated entries,

John Copley was borne ye 25th de of July 1661.
Mr. William Tubman, of Gosforth, buried in ye chansell there, the 26th day October, 1653.

Mr. Richard Copley was steward to Sir William Pennington of Muncaster, for seventeen years, during his minority, and chief baliff of Copeland Forest under the Earl of Northumberland. He purchased part of the manor of Gosforth, and erected a handsome mansion and garden there, which no doubt was Gosforth Hall. Above the fireplace in one of the principal rooms are the initials

C
R I

$\frac{C}{R}$ I and a rose within the four coils of a knot, with the date 1673, the whole surmounted by a diamond shaped moulding, having a spray of roses on the right hand and of lilies on the left. It is in raised plaster work; also over a door in one of the outbuildings are the initials R. C., with the date 1633 cut in stone.

Under 1633:

Thomas Hill alias Sudert sepult.
1664 Guilelmus filius Guielmi Minican mendicus et viator sepultus.

John Ben succeeded Peter Hudson. In 1667 we find:

25 die Junii, Maria filia Johannis Ben clerici Goffornensis baptizat fuit.

And in 1668

xxvii die Martii Henricus Ben, clericus pochialis, sepultus.

The word

Clericus

is indistinct, and is probably means parish clerk. In the same year is the burial of a centenarian:

22 die Sept., Thomas Powe de Hall Senhouse qui centum et quator annos complevit, sepultus fuit.

Also

Johannis Fox alias Benson.

Also

Dorithea Punsonby, vidua pauper.

The next page, which is otherwise blank, has the signature

Tho. Morland, Rector de Gossforth, Anno Domi 1678.

After this, several pages contain nothing but entries of burials in woollen, under each of which is laboriously written

An affidavit was brought according to the late Act of Parliament concerning burials in woollen.

In

In 1683

John Sherwen, son of Jo. Sherwen, was buryed in linnen, August the 15. His father paid a fine according to the late law for burying in woollen.

In 1685 Dorothy Towerson, of Calder Abbey, and Isabella Copley, gentlewoman, were buried. 1686—Several pages are here almost illegible.

Thomas Smith, pedlar

is mentioned; also

Willm Shepheard ye husband of Dorothy Shepheard buryed.

In 1685 a new handwriting appears, probably that of Christopher Denton, rector. Several of his children's names are recorded. Under 1701

The posthumous daughter to John Dixon bapt.
1711 John Moscrop, late of Windermereghyll, buryed.
1711 Tyson, of Julyanholme.
1711 Ann the wife of John comonly Cooper Beby buryed March 18th.
1712 John Benn, father of Robert buryed.
1713 Moses, son of Joseph Mawson, smith in Seascale, buryed.
1716 William, son to John Simon and Isabella, his supposed wife bapt.
1717 John, son of Ann Edrington, a stranger and widow, buryed Dec. 24. ye mother of ye child was born at Oxford and the child baptized by Mr. Bell, Rector of Aspatrick in Carlilis Docess
1720 Thomas Senhouse gentlmen, a poor batchelor, buryed May 4.
John Bragg, late of Crosfield a sojourner in the parish of Gosforth, buryed October 8.
Matthew Alexander, curate of Long Sleddale, in the parish of Kendal, and Dorothy Atkinson, in the parish of ——e, within the County of Westmorland, spinster, married by lycence, Sep. 17.
1723 John, ye spurious son of Bridget.
Abraham Ben, a poor househoulder buryed.
John Wallis, the servant of Mr. Joseph Senhouse buryed
1726. Augustin Earle of ye city of Carlisle Esq. and Miss Francis Blacklock of Whitehaven Spinster married August 13 by licence granted by Ro: F.

By this marriage the manor of Seascale passed. Also

Samuel Feron, school-master buryed Jan. 8. He was a widdower.

1738.

1738. In large writing,

The Reverend Mr. Christopher Denton, Rector of Gosforth buried June the sixth 1738.

And next year the name of his successor appears, viz. :—

Nov. 27. Elizabeth daughter of Mr. Peter Murthwaite baptized.

And with the words

Hitherto registered at Chester,

the earliest volume of Gosforth Registers closes.

The second volume of the Registers is much smaller, 12 in. by 6 in. It is on parchment, and has been regularly kept, but contains nothing of special interest. The third volume is missing with the exception of three leaves, which were found in a house at St. Bees in 1873. It contained the marriages from 1753 to 1791, the recovered leaves being those of 1769-1772.

Appendix.

THE SENHOUSES.

B. Baptized. M. Married. S. Buried. Year from April to April.

xxi Sept. 1576 Lancelot of Thomas	B
24 Dec. 1596 William of John	S
16 Feb. 1597 Agnes of John	B
16 April 1599 John of John	B
12 Jan. 1600 Thomas of Thomas	B
21 May 1601 Dorathea of John	B
25 Sept. 1603 Joseph of John	B
22 March 1605 Elicia of John	B
22 March 1607 Thomas of John	B
15 July 1609 Fanne of John	B
6 April 1611 Antony of John	B
16 Dec. 1636 Thomas	S
25 Sept. 1637 John of Seascale	S
4 March 1637 Lancelot of Joseph of Hall Bolton	B
20 May 1638 John of John of Seascale	B
8 Jan. 1639 Wrightington of John	B
16 March 1660 John of Wrightington of Seascale	Born 9 Nov.

9 Nov. 1662 William of Wrightington	B	
26 Jan. 1662 Dorothea of Seascale	S	
25 Jan. 1663 Isabella of Thomas of Seascale	B	
22 Dec. 1664 Frances of Wrightington	B	
14 Jan. 1665 Janet of Thomas	B	
5 March 1666 Richard of Wrightington	B	
11 Sept. Janet of Thomas	S	
28 Nov. 1667 Wrightington of Seascale	S	
29 March 1668 John of Thomas	B	
8 Aug. 1668 Anna wife of John	S	
29 Sep. 1669 Joseph	S	
22 Jan. 1669 John of Seascale	S	
27 Sept. John of Thomas	B	
22 July 1670 John of Thomas of Seascale	S	
12 Nov. 1670 John of Thomas of Seascale.	S	
12 Jan. 1671 Frances of Thomas	B	
1 Aug. 1672 Joseph of Lancelot of Hallboltom	B	
6 Nov. 1672 Isabella of Lancelot of Hallboltom	B	
30 Aug. 1680 William of Lancelot	B	1
13 March 1682 William of Lancelot	B	1
March 1683 John of Lancelot	B	
7 Oct. 1685 John of John	B	
13 July 1689 Wrightington of John	B	
11 Nov. 1690 John	S	
29 Jan 1690 Margaret	S	
11 Nov. 1691 William of John of Seascale	B	
17 May 1709 Lancelot	S	
8 Aug. 1712 Isabell Relict of Lancelot.	S	

TABLE A.—MARRIAGES.

Year counted from April to April.

THOMAS THOMPSON, RECTOR.

Years.	No. of Marriages.	Years.	No. of Marriages.	Years.	No. of Marriages.
1571	None.	1576	3	1580	4
1572	5	1577	5	1581	5
1573	8	1578	5	1582	7
1574	6	1579	2	1583	1
1575	2				

Gap from 13th April, 1583, to 21st July, 1593.

NICHOLAS

Years.	No. of Marriages.
Nicholas Copeland, rector.	
1593	6
1594	6
1595	4
1596	7
1597	11
Plague year.	
1598	2
1599	9
1600	1
Rector unknown.	
1601	none
1602	none
1603	4
1605	1
1606	2
1607	3
1608	5
1609	2
1610	2
1611	3
Gap 1612 to 1635.	
Peter Hudson, rector.	
1636	4
1637	5
1638	4
1639	3
1640	11
1641	5
1642	4
Death of Petr Hudson.	
Gap 1641 to 1661, Commonwealth.	
John Benn, rector.	
1662	1
1663	4
1664	5
1665	12
Plague yr in London.	
1666	5
1667	6
1668	3
1661	2
1670	4
1671	7
1672	4
1673	2
Gap 1674 to 1679.	
1676 Thos. Morland, rector.	
1680	4
1681	4
1682	none
1683	1
1684	4
1685	3
1686	5
1687	3
1688	3
1689	4
1690	5
1691	4
1692	3
1693	2
1694	3
1695	3
1696	3
1697	1
1698	7
1699	4
1700	4
1701	4
1702	none
1703	2
1704	none
1705	none
1706	2
1707	3
1708	none
1709	none
1710	3
1711	2
1712	1
1713	3
1714	8
1715	5
1716	7
1717	4
1718	3
1719	5
1720	8
Chris. Denton, rector	
1721	10
1722	12
1723	1
1724	none
1725	none
1726	4
1727	11
1721	5
1729	none
1730	6
1731	11
1732	3
1733	7
1735	8
1736	2
1737	none
1738	4
Death of Christopher Denton.	
Peter Murthwaite, rector 1738.	
1739	7

ART. IX.—*Camp on Infell, Ponsonby.* By CHARLES A. PARKER, M.D.

Read at Seascale, September 25th, 1884.

HUTCHINSON, in his History of Cumberland, published in 1794, p. 26, writes:—

> Upon Ponsonby Fell are the vestiges of an encampment said to be Roman; but the ground having never been opened, no altars or other antiquities have been found in or near it, to ascertain to what age or people it belonged.

Lysons and other writers copy this without addition. To begin with, this little known camp does not lie on Ponsonby Fell at all (though frequently referred to by that name), but on Infell, which is a rounded hill 562 feet in height in the Parish of Ponsonby, and just three miles from the sea coast. It is the property of Mr. E. Stanley. The high road from Whitehaven to the south passes about one mile to the west, and the camp is best reached by following the lane which turns off at the parsonage and going through the second gate on the left-hand, from which a cartroad leads through the hamlet of Ponsonby, directly to the spot. On the south-east and south-west the ground falls gradually from the summit of the hill to the high road and Mill Beck. On the north-west the slope is steeper, and at a distance of about 600 yards from the top of the hill descends abruptly to the River Calder, which, when in flood, would of itself be a formidable obstacle to an attacking force, as shown by its local name of "The Mad Beck." All this ground has been long under cultivation, but the level top, and north-east side, which slopes steeply down to Scar Green Beck, 150 feet below, are covered with heathery ling, over which the destroying plough has never passed. On the opposite side of the Scar Green Beck rises Ponsonby Fell. The whole of this north-east slope was planted several years since with larch,

larch, but owing to the exposed situation most of the trees died, and the greater number of those that remain are miserable stunted things, from three to five feet high. The camp itself, which lies on this slope just below the crest of the hill, is for the most part covered with nothing but heather. Owing to these favourable conditions the ramparts and ditch are in very fair preservation, and can be distinctly traced all round. The camp is oblong in shape, having three right angles to the north, west, and south. The east angle is cut off, the north-east and south-east sides being joined by a smaller fifth side, running north and south, consisting like the others of ditch and rampart. This side is 22 paces in length, and has a wide gap in it. The other four sides measure as follows:—North-east, about 64 paces; north-west, about 52 paces; south-west, about 75 paces; south-east, about 41 paces. The ditch varies in depth from $4\frac{1}{2}$ to 6 feet. The earth has been thrown out of it on both sides, but principally to the inner side, forming ramparts about two feet in height at the present time. They are most distinct at the west angle where the ditch is six feet deep, two feet wide at the bottom, and the distance between the crests of the ramparts 22 feet. When standing inside the south angle, the inner rampart is seen to be six feet high; starting from the south angle the south-west side is almost perfect. A small runner trickles into the ditch. At the west angle is a gap through both ramparts, and at the north angle another; but in this last case, the gaps in the two ramparts are not opposite one another. On the north-east side are two gaps in the inner rampart. The south-east side is perfect. Near the north angle, 14 paces from the north-west ditch, and 13 from the north-east, are the remains of a tank which still holds water. It is rudely circular, measuring 27 feet in diameter. All round the edge the exploring iron strikes stone, within a foot from the present surface. The stones project here and there, and are rude cobbles. The overflow

overflow passes out into the ditch through the gap near the north angle. The camp is somewhat sheltered from the sea wind by the crest of the hill. It is strongest on the north-east side (on which side the Roman would expect an enemy) and weakest on the south-east. Egremont Castle is not visible from it, but a point not far from it can be seen. A straight line drawn between these two points passes through Hale churchyard, where a Roman altar was found last year. From within a few yards of the south angle, the site of the camp at Ravenglass can be seen about seven miles away, and signals could be exchanged with that place. Hardknott and the Roman road up Eskdale are concealed by the intervening hills. The sea view is extensive, ranging from Black Combe to St. Bees Head. The whole hill-side, being let as a game covert, I have not been able to investigate as I might have done in open ground. With regard to the approaches to this camp, I would humbly suggest that the road between the camps at Ravenglass and Egremont or Moresby passed more inland than is generally thought. I have heard of a paved road, about 18 inches underground, near Bleawath farm-house, in Gosforth, 1½ miles from the coast. Tradition says that Calder Bridge and Yeorton bridge were originally Roman, and when once thus far inland, Moresby could be gained without passing through the dangerous, swampy, and probably wooded valley of St. Bees.

The upper part of a large quern was found in a bank about 300 yards from the camp, in July last.

Note by the Editor.—The evidence of this camp being Roman is somewhat weak; the fact of the earth from the ditch having been thrown out on both sides; of the camp being five sided; and of its being strongest on the side most exposed to attack, seem to point to a different conclusion.

ART. X.—*The Bloomeries of High Furness.* By the REV. T. ELLWOOD, B.A., Rector of Torver.

Read at Foxfield, Sep. 26th, 1884.

THE name "Bloomery" seems to have been applied originally to the rude methods that the Romans and the early English used to extract the iron from the ore by means of charcoal. The word* appears to be of Anglo-Saxon derivation, as bloom seems in this connection to be applied to lumps of iron, though having reference probably to the bloom or brightness of iron when in a state of fusion; hence its connection with bloom as applied to the brightness of a flower. Its original application is still preserved, inasmuch as large lumps of iron, when first smelted, are still known by the name of blooms. The Roman Bloomeries appear, from what is recorded on the subject, to have been generally situated in a narrow gorge, through which the wind rushed with great rapidity: thus a small quantity of iron was extracted from the richer ores in a furnace fanned by the natural force of the wind. A Bloomery consisted of a low cupola of stone, pierced with holes for admitting the wind: these holes could be opened or closed when the furnace was in operation, so as to regulate the force of the flame.

The heaps of scoriæ that indicate the remains of the Bloomeries, to which I shall more immediately refer, are all situated upon the western margin of Coniston Lake, in the parishes of Coniston and Torver. They are four, or including one not far distant, but a little inland, five in number; by taking a larger radius amongst the Furness fells, many

* The name Bloomery has, I think, been originally derived from "blow," or some cognate word (the Anglo-Saxon verb is blowan, to blow), and connects the idea of a Bloomery with the blowing or blast employed to fan the flame for smelting the ore.

more

more might doubtless be instanced, for there are at least two or three in Blawith, three in Woodland, and one, a remarkable one, on the ridge of Dunnerdale, where it descends towards the Duddon ; one at least in Kirkby, and others in Ulpha : yet the five that I have named, as they are in my own more immediate vicinity, and as I have examined them and collected from them for many years, are those upon which I shall more immediately ground what I have to say. There are very abundant remains of scoriæ to be found near where a stream called Moor Ghyll enters the lake from Torver Common. No position could have been more suited to what are said to have been the requirements of a Roman Bloomery than Moor Ghyll. It is a stream flowing through a very steep rocky gorge cutting deeply into Torver Common, and the frequent falls and rapids in its course, might at a later time supply the requisite water power, supposing an artificial fan blast ever to have been used. The waters of the lake are very deep near to where this stream enters it. With one exception, all the heaps of scoriæ have their position upon the margin of the lake at places where deep water comes up nearly to the edge. The object of placing them there may have been to secure greater facility for water carriage. They are not only near deep water, but also in positions favourable for securing a ready access to what may be termed the water way of Coniston Lake. It was the track used by the copper boats ere that route was superseded by the Furness Railway, and has its two termini—the higher at Coniston Old Hall, the lower at Nibthwaite. Another Bloomery has existed in or near a field called Napping Tree, somewhat higher up the lake. The scoriæ of this Bloomery, judging from what I have collected at various times, seem to contain the greatest percentage of iron of any of the Bloomeries. The position of the field at Napping Tree is remarkable. It is an isolated field, formed by a rectangular clearing in the wood.

wood. Three of its sides are formed by the wood, and the fourth bounded by the lake. It is very likely to have been a clearing originally formed by a Bloomery. The approaches to it through the wood are so steep and narrow as to be almost impracticable for a conveyance, and I should judge that the approach to it must have been by the water-way of the lake. Another very large mound, formed chiefly of the remains of a Bloomery, and which I have had photographed last week by Mr. Lund, purposely that I might show it to you in illustration of the subject, is situated in a field called the Spring, near to Coniston Old Hall. The field adjoins the ancient deer park on the one side, and upon the other is bounded by Coniston Lake. As usual, it is near a stream, the stream in this case forming the boundary between Torver and Coniston. It is somewhat elliptical in shape, composed almost entirely of scoriæ, covered in some places very deeply with earth, the gradual accretions of the centuries which have elapsed since its first formation. The hillock so formed is about 50 yards in length, 27 in breadth, 123 yards in circumference, and three or four yards in height at the highest part. I think it owes its formation entirely to this scoriæ, for all the rest of the field is level, and, excepting the earth deposited upon the top of it, the scoriæ exists in a great measure down to the general level of the field. The only note of time that can be given is in the trees growing upon it, and these have embedded their roots deeply into the soil upon the top. The trees, some of which are oaks large and full-sized, have evidently grown there after the time the scoriæ was first deposited. Not far from this, and quite close to the margin of the lake, are the remains of another Bloomery, still more deeply embedded in the earth, and quite overgrown by large and lofty trees. It is a part of the ancient deer park of the Le Flemings, which adjoins Coniston Hall, and the trees growing above it seem to be co-eval

co-eval with the other trees generally to be found in the park. The Bloomery has therefore existed long anterior to the formation of the deer park.

Such are the remains of the Bloomeries formerly existing on the western shore of the lake of Coniston. Large masses of iron scoriæ, covered in many cases by earth, evidently the gradual accumulation of centuries, but affording no note of time, except by the oaks and other lofty trees by which they are overgrown, or by the pieces of scoriæ which have been rolled and frayed upon the pebbly shores of the lake, until they are themselves rounded almost like pebbles, and so changed by the action of the water as hardly to be recognisable as iron at all.

Nor, so far as I can learn, is there documentary testimony to their origin and history much more satisfactory. West, though he speaks fully and definitely about the Bloomsmithies of Hawkshead and Colton, is almost altogether silent about these. Speaking of the aboriginal colonists of Furness, he says :—

> The improvement of Low Furness must soon have made way for the important discovery of iron ore. The soil in many places is tinged with this mineral, and the rocks show it by their purpled appearance. It is sufficiently evident, that iron has anciently been made in High Furness, from the remains of Bloomeries which are frequently discovered. The ore has been carried to where the wood was charred, and large cakes of the metal yet remain on the sites of some of the Bloomeries.

This, judging from the context, refers to a period very long anterior to the origin of Furness Abbey, and though the Bloomeries of Colton and Hawkshead can be traced down to much later times, there is not one word of a corresponding history of the Bloomeries in Coniston and Torver. Our Torver charters, and other parochial documents go back to Elizabeth and Henry VIII., yet I cannot find in them any mention of the Bloomeries. When engaged on this paper, I wrote to George E. Moser, Esq., of Kendal, the steward for the Le Flemings, in the Manor

Manor of Coniston, inquiring whether anything was stated about the Bloomeries in the records of the manor. He replies that he can find no mention whatever of Bloomeries in the manor books of Coniston, neither is the subject mentioned by Watkins on Copyholds in the Digests. Situated as two of these Bloomeries are, one within the ancient deer park of the Le Flemings, and the other upon the manor farm both quite close to Coniston Hall, they would not, I think, have been worked in the time of the Le Flemings, without some note of the fact being found in the archives of the manor. Failing this, the most natural conclusion seems to be that they are Roman, or very early English. There is said to be positive evidence that the Romans did work the Coniston Copper Mines. It cannot, therefore, be deemed at all unlikely that the Romans, and afterwards the early English, were the originators and workers of the Bloomeries as well.*

There is much more definite information to be found in dealing with the Hawkshead Bloomsmithies or Forges. West says, in an express reference to them, that formerly the Abbot of Furness had the sole management and profit of the iron mines, and the exclusive power of making iron for the use of his tenants, and for exportation. There were formerly three of these iron Bloomsmithies or Forges within the manor of Hawkshead, in High Furness. The tenants complained that their wood was being destroyed by the unceasing use of charcoal, and that the same process deprived them of their "proper fewell for the maintenance of their hedges," and "the yearly use to fell and cutt slender wood, and to shed, lop, crop, top, and browse all other woods and trees." Therefore in the

* That the remains of Roman Bloomeries are to be found in England is well known. The rude process of these Bloomeries left so much iron in the cinders, that those in the Forest of Dean furnished the chief supply of ore to 20 Furnaces for between 200 and 300 years. Iron was produced in Britain before the time of the Romans, for Cæsar says:—De Bel. Gal. Lib. v. Cap. 12. Utuntur aut aere, aut taleis ferreis, ad certum pondus examinatis, pro nummo. Nascitur ibi in maritimis regionibus ferrum; sed ejus exigua est copia.

seventh

seventh year of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, 1565, the Bloomsmithies or Forges were suppressed on the tenants of the manor agreeing amongst themselves to pay the annual rent of £20. The amount was assessed rateably over the various properties, and this was the origin of Bloomsmithy rents, which are found mentioned in most old deeds relating to the Manor of Hawkshead. The Duke of Buccleuch, a few years ago, gave the tenants the option of buying them in. All took advantage of the concession, and they are now extinguished. This old custom to shed, lop, crop, top, and browse cattle upon the tender shoots of trees, is still kept up in High Furness. It is a very needful provision for cattle in hard winters, though in use in some measure every winter, and the ash and the holly are the trees most in request on this behalf. This Bloomsmithy rent seems to have been payable annually, at the feasts of the Annunciation of the Virgin Mary and St. Michael the Archangel. It is mentioned in a survey of the lordship or manor of Furness, taken in the year 1649, where it is termed wood rent or Bloomsmithy rent. It is specified in two annual portions—one of £4 6s. 4½d., the other £15 15s. 4d. This decree of Elizabeth doubtless in some measure abolished the Bloomsmithies* or Forges. We have a reminiscence of them in old buildings at Coniston, still retaining the name

* Since the above was in type, I have, through the kindness of Mr. R. Bownass, seen a valuable paper upon the Bloomeries of Rossendale, in East Lancashire, by James Kerr, Esq., which appeared in the Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, 1872. Mr. Kerr, shows, I think, satisfactorily, that when the Bloomeries were by this decree of Elizabeth, abolished in Furness, Bloomeries were (about 1565) established in the Forest of Rossendale, and the Low Furness red hæmatite ore, which had hitherto been smelted in High Furness, was afterwards conveyed from Ulverston to Preston by water, and thence to the Bloomeries in Rossendale by pack saddle horses. Mr. Kerr has investigated the remains of four such Bloomeries in Rossendale. He infers that the iron used in those Rossendale Bloomeries came from Low Furness, because the slag shows the original ore to have been of a purer and richer character than that found in the more immediate neighbourhood of Rossendale, and because "the red ore scoriæ from the old Bloomeries of Coniston is found, on comparison, to be identical in character with that found on the sites of those in Rossendale." Judging from the scoriæ, Mr. Kerr thinks the Rossendale Bloomeries are about 300 years old, and they continued in use until the close of the reign of Elizabeth (1603) that is for a period of between 40 and 50 years.

of

of "The Forge," though unconnected with the manufacture of iron within living memory. The name is also applied in other parts of Furness. At Backbarrow and at Newland*, near Ulverstone, are charcoal forges, the latter, so far as I know, still in operation, the sole relic in England of times past, when charcoal was the only fuel employed. And at Duddon Bridge is still standing a charcoal blast furnace, which was in operation as recently as 12 or 13 years ago, and was with the exception of the two I have just named, the last in use in Great Britain. This furnace was in existence in the year 1745 (being marked on the maps of that date), and probably for many years previously. It originally belonged to the family of Lathom, of Broughton-in-Furness, from which it passed early in the present century, to the firm of Harrison, Ainslie & Co., to whom it yet belongs. Mr. Barlow-Massicks still possesses a pig of this iron, branded D 1783. It is noteworthy that these Bloomeries have left their traces in some of the names of Furness. Furness has been, and still is, by some writers said to derive its name from those forges. This, however probable at first sight, must now, I think, be given up. The original monks of Furness would seem to have had their parent monastery at Vornes, in Flanders, and hence brought their name. The Ashburners, however, were, I should think, originally so called from their occupation in ash or charcoal burning. Ashlack Hall, in Kirkby, has, according to Mr. Jackson, who visited and examined the place, been the seat of an extensive Bloomery, and its name, I think, marks the circumstance. Cinder Beck, and Cinder Hill, Cinder Barrow near Kendal, and Cinder Nab on Windermere are, as proper names, applied to places where heaps of iron scoriæ are found; while the Forge is in more instances

* This Newland Bloomery or Forge stands within a very few miles of the unrivalled steel works of Barrow-in-Furness, and thus in Furness we have brought almost into juxta position the most ancient and the most modern method of extracting the iron from the ore.

than

than one applied to buildings which have had no connection whatever for generations with the manufacture of iron, and which yet doubtless by their name, and also by the remains of slag near them mark the sites where anciently the Bloomsmithies were to be found. In conclusion, I must express my regret at the scanty amount of information I have been able to collect upon the subject. The remains of the Bloomeries are certainly very much more abundant than any evidence I can make available about their origin, and I can only say by way of apology, that scanty though my records are, it is not because the matter has been hastily taken up or lightly thought of, for I have lived in the immediate vicinity of those ancient Bloomeries, and tried to obtain information about them for more than twenty years.

NOTE BY THE EDITOR:—A paper on Ancient Bloomeries in Yorkshire, by Louis C. M. Miall, is in *The Yorkshire Archæological and Topographical Journal*, vol. i., p. 110. The writer assigns the Yorkshire Bloomeries to a date not much beyond the Civil Wars. But the High Furness heap of scoriæ show signs of age, which are wanting in the Yorkshire ones. Coins and pottery should be carefully looked for.

ART. XI.—*Killington, Kirkby Lonsdale, its Chapel Salary. No.* 1. By the REV. CANON WARE, M.A.

Communicated to the Society at Seascale, September 25th, 1884.

A FEW months ago I had occasion to examine the contents of a bundle of old papers, placed in my hands by the Rev. R. Fisher, and belonging to the Chapelry of Killington, in this parish, to which my attention had been called first, some years ago, by the Rev. H. V. Thompson, then incumbent. I found that some of the papers were so much decayed as to be illegible, others were of small importance or interest; but the greater part related to an old lawsuit concerning the "Chapel Salary," payable at Killington, as in many of the ancient Chapelries in Westmorland. The course of this lawsuit was in some respects singular, and the papers themselves contained many curious and interesting details; I have therefore thought that it might be desirable to lay before the Society an account of them.

The curate of Killington, William Sclater,* claimed 5^{s} 10^{d} per annum from Joseph Baynes, senr., in respect of messuages and tenements or lands at Stangerthwaite; 2^{s} 8^{d} per annum from James Baynes, Stangerthwaite; 2^{s} 10^{d} per annum from Thomas Alexander, Longfellows at Fellside; 4^{s} 3^{d} per annum from Thomas Story, Bendrigg; 1^{s} 10^{d} per annum from Samuel Parrett, Grassrigg. All these were quakers, and resisted the payments for that reason.

The papers commence with an inquisition, indented and taken at the Moot Hall, in Kendal, January 11th,† 1696,

* So spelt by himself,, but by others Slayter, or Slater.

† It must be remembered throughout, that the year then began on March 25th.

before

before Allan Chambre, William Corke, and Robert Kilner, Esqrs., Anthony Saule and Charles Saule, gentlemen, by virtue of a Commission under the Great Seal of England to them and others directed for the due execution of a Statute, 43 Elizabeth, entitled, "An Act to redress the Misemployment of Lands, Goods, and Stocks of money heretofore given to charitable uses," by the oaths of Joseph Ward and thirteen others (whose names are given),

Who being duly retorned impannelled and sworne according to the said statute and commission say upon their oathes that from the time whereof the memory of man is not to the contrary there hath beene and at this present is An Ancient Chappell allways heretofore, and now kept in good repaire within the precincts of the Hamlett Townshipp or Chappellry of Killington in the Parish of Kirkby Lonsdale in the said County whereunto the inhabitants within Killington aforesaid did and doe usually resorte to heare divine service and sermons which time out of mind have been and now are duly performed by the curate of the said chappell for the time being. And the jurors aforesaid doe further say upon their oathes that from the time whereof the memory of man extends not to the contrary there hath beene and still is certaine Anuall sumes of money or rents customarily payd by the severall and respective owners and occupyers of the severall Messuages Lands and Tenem^{ts} or parcells of ground within the precincts of the Hamlett Townshipp or Chappellry of Killington aforesaid to the respective curate or curates of the said chappell for the time being commonly called the curate's wages or sallary att two days or feasts yearly and every year (to witt) at Lamas and the feast of the purification of the blessed Virgine Mary by eaven and equall portions. And moreover the jurors aforesaid doe further say upon their oathes that Thomas Story of Killington aforesaid yeom. for the space of Twelve years last past hath been and now is owner or occupyer of one Messuage and Tenement or Lands lying at Bendrigg in Killington within the precincts of the said Chappellry. The owners or occupyers of of which Messuage Tenem^{ts} and Lands lying at Bendrigg aforesaid have time out of mind used and accustomed to pay the yearly sume or Rent of four shillings three-pence p. Annm. to the curate or curates of the said Chappellry for the time being as parte of the said Curate's sallary or wages which yearly rent or sume of four shillings three pence p. ann. the said Thomas Story ought to have pay^{d} for these last twelve years last past to William Slayter clerke who

who for these twelve years last past was and now is present curate of the said chappell And lastly the jurors aforesaid doe say and find upon their oathes that Thomas Story aforesaid for the space of twelve years last past hath detayned and not pay^{d} the said yearly sume or rent of four shillings three pence as above charged to the said William Slayter clerke. Altho' the said William Slayter clerke for the space of twelve years last past and upwards hath beene and now is curate of the said chappell of Killington lawfully and duely admitted thereunto by the proper ordinary and thereby is become lawfully intituled to receive the said yearly sume of four shillings three pence p. anm. soe due from the said Thomas Story for the said twelve years last past as aforesaid in consideration and in respect of his officiating as curate of and at the said Chappell of Killington in the County of Westmorland aforesaid for the time aforesaid.

There are similar documents relating to the cases of James Baynes, Joseph Baynes, sen., Thomas Alexander, and Samuel Parrett.

Interrogatories, or written questions appear to have been administered in the suit to old inhabitants and others. The following copy of one of the answers is preserved :—

Thomas Hebblethwaite of Killington in the county of Westmorland 56 years of age or thereab^{ts} sworne and examined deposeth and saith:

To the 1st interr. that hee knoweth and hath knowne the hamlett or Townshipp of Killington above 50^{ty} yeares and the Church or Chappell there that being the first place where hee went to schoole and whereunto the inhabitants of the said hamlett or townshipp did then and doe or may now resort (if they please) to heare divine service and sermons as by law establishd but how long since the Church or Chappel there was built or att whose charge this depon^{t} knowes not, but hath heard of sev'll ancient men above 80^{ty} yeares of age say that they believed it might be very neare 120^{ty} yeares since the same was made pochiall and this depon^{t} believes it cannot be * * * more since the same was consecrated the walls thereof in pte shewing the antiquity thereof.

To the second interr. he saith that dureing all the tyme of his remembrance and that hee hath been often informed by his this depon^{ts} father Mr. Robert Hebblethwaite whoe dyed abo^{t} 9 yeares agoe and was att the tyme of his death above 82 yeares of age and sev'all other ancient inhabitants of that age or neare thereunto in Killington aforesaid that during each of their respective remembrances there had beene a sallary or stipend called Preacher * * *

Sallary,

Sallary anciently paid to the Minister or Curate for the tyme being of the Church or Chappell aforesaid by All the owners or occupyers of all the messuages lands and tenemts wch in the hamlett or townshipp there or the greatest part thereof (the owners of the Manor house and the demesne lands thereunto belonging called Killington Hall or Killington demesne only excepted whoe they believed gave the grounde whereon the said Church or Chappell is built and the Church or Chappell yard thereunto belonging for interring their dead therein and soe was and is exempted) on the first Sunday after Lammas day and the first Sunday after Candlemas day yearly by equall portions if neither of the said feast dayes happen'd on a Sunday wch if they soe happen'd then on those dayes and the Sundays next after either of the said feast dayes untill the tyme that the sect or p'fession of Quakers came into Killington aforesaid, And this depont further saith that the said Preacher wages or sallary are now payd by all the sev'all and respective owners or occupyers of the messuages lands and tenemts within Killington aforesaid or by their farmers or tents except the Quakers whoe this depont believes have allways since Quakers denyed to pay the preacher wages or sallary due to the minister or curate for the tyme being out of their sev'all and respective messuages lands and tenemts in Killington aforesaid, Althoe this deponts father did and hee this depont doth believe that such Annual paymts were and are Ancient charges and incumbrances upon ev'y owner and owners of the sev'all and respective messuages lands and tenemts wthin Killington aforesaid And thus ev'y purchaser taketh soe to be except those people called Quakers, for hee this depont above 36 yeares agoe did see a deed of a mortgage of twoe Closes or pcells of lande pcell of a messuage and tenemt wthin Killington aforesaid wch bore date in the fifth yeare of the Raigne of Kinge James the first and transcribed a copy of pte thereof by his said fathers order for a prsident wherein a modus in lieu of Tyth Corne and Preachers wages or sallary were therein menconed and certaine covents therein betwixt the mortgager and mortgagee that in case the said mortgager did not redeeme the said closes or pcells of lande therein and thereby mortgaged then the said mortgagee should pay the modus therein menconed to the Parson of Kirkby Lonsdale in the said County yearly for ev. and the fourth pte of the Preacher wages wherewith the said messuage and tenemt were charged wth all, And this depont further saith that about the yeare of our Lord 1666 (to the best of this deponts remembrance) being desired by one James Taylor a Carpenter whoe was and is a moderate Quaker and had then purchased of one Richard Hilton of Killington since dead a

messuage

messuage and tenem^{t} scituate lying and being att or neare Killington Church or Chappell aforesaid to draw him a deed for the same And the said James Taylor bringing the old writeings (from the said Richard Hilton) wch belonged thereunto hee this depon^{t} founde an Ancient deed purporting to be made in the Raigne of Kinge Charles the first wherein and whereby the owner of the said messuage and tenem^{t} was charged to pay half a pecke of meale on (or ?) silver for the same yearly as a modus to the Parson of Kirkby Lonsdale aforesaid (to the best of this depon^{ts} remembrance in lieu of Tyth Corne and 12^{d} yearly thereout to the Minister or Curate for the tyme being of the Church or Chappell aforesaid, And hee this depon^{t} did draw a deed of the said messuage and tenem^{t} aforesaid for the said James Taylor and insert * * * * for the paym^{t} of the said modus yearly to the said Parson and the 12^{d} yearly to the Minister or Curate of the Church or Chappele aforesaid for the tyme being according to the forme of the Ancient deed herein before for that purpose menconed And further saith that about the yeare of our Lord 1687 the said James Taylor being desireous to sell the same messuage and tenem^{t} againe did sell the same to one John Holme a Quaker and this depon^{t} did draw the deed from the said James Taylor to the said John Holme and inserted the like clause therein for the paym^{t} of the said modus and the said 12^{d} yearly in manner as aforesaid, but when the said deed came to be executed the said John Holme would not have the same executed unlesse that clause was putt out wch this depon^{t} was forced to raze the same out of the said deed hee had soe drawne, And this depon^{t} further saith that the said John Holme some little tyme after sold the said messuage and tenem^{t} to one Jno. Bradley a Quaker but before the sale thereof as this depon^{t} verily believes the said John Holme by the advice and pswasion of one James Baines a Quaker and one John Windson since turnd a Quaker and others of that pswasion destroyed or at least convayd the said old deed made in the said Raigne of King Charles the first, for this depon^{t} lately made search for the same amongst the writeings of the said John Bradley of the messuage and tenem^{t} aforesaid and told the said Bradley that there was an old deed wanting wch belonged to his said messuage and tenem^{t} to wch hee replyed there were all the deeds evidences and writeings wch the said * * * Holme delivered to him the said Bradley or words to that effecte, And this depon^{t} further saith that if the inhabitants wthin Killington should with hold * * * severall and respective Sallaryes or Preacher wages due out of their sev'all messuages there could not be y^{t} a year * * * tayne a Minister or Curate there.

The

The decree of the Court in accordance with the Inquisition was given on June 14th, 1697. The original decree, in the case of Alexander, is preserved, signed, "Trevor Griffith," and there are copies of those in the cases of Alexander, Jos. Baynes, James Baynes, and Storey. The decree recites the Inquisition and its result; directs the defendants to pay the annual sums with arrears and costs; says that the payments are to be made by the owners or proprietors of the messuages, tenements, or lands: and in default of payment gives power to the Curate to enter and distrain.

Against this decree the defendants appealed, taking exception to certain points. In a paper labelled "Slay ter *v.* Jacobum Baynes, Exceptions to the Decree of the Com^rs^ of Pious uses," James Baynes

Doth except and conceives and is advised by his Counsell that he is not nor ought to be bound by the said order and Decree made by the said Comn^rs^ as aforesaid for the causes and reasons hereafter following.

1st. For that att the time of issueing out of the said Comcon and takeing of the said Inquisition there was a Bishoppe of Chester in whose diocese the said controversie did arise and that the said Bishopp and his Chancellour were not named Comn^rs^ therein and besides the subject matter of the controversie and matter in variance in this Cause is Foraigne to and not within the power or Cognizance of Comners of charitable uses

2^ly^. For that the Jury that found the said Inquisition, or the said Comn^rs^ had not any reasonable grounds or sufficient evidence to prove that the said pretended Chappell was ancient or ever consecrated nor that there are or ever were any rents or sumes called Curates wages or sallary of right or duty demandable payable or paid out of or by the owner or occupyers of the messuages and lands in the Exceptants possession lyeing in Stangerthwaite as is found by the said Inquisition:

3^ly^. For that the said Inquisition or Decree doe not sett forth how the said yearely rent or sume of two shillings and eightpence originally became due whether by deed or will or by whome made or when or what lands are chargeable with or lyable to the payments thereof soe that it does not appeare that the same was such a Guift

Assignm^t

Assignmt Limitacon or Appointmt as was intended or can bee brought within the influence of the said statute and power of the Comrs of charitable uses.

4ly. For that this Exceptant saith that Wm Baynes this Exceptants Father abont 46 years agoe did purchase part of the premisses of and from one James Baynes this Exceptants Grandfather and another part thereof this Exceptant purchased of and from one John Robinson of Kirkby Kendall about twenty years since And about thirty five years since purchased another part thereof from one Robert Hebblethwaite Gen. since deceased, soe much whereof as this Exceptant now is in possession of this Exceptants said Father held and enjoyed the same till the month of May One Thousand Six Hundred Eighty and Five att which time the said Wm Baynes this Exceptants Father for good consideracons conveyed the the same to him this Exceptant And this Exceptant saith that his said Father neither att the time of his purchase nor before had notice of the pretended Rent sume Rate or pretended Charitable use or any part thereof or any other such charged or chargeable upon the premises or any part thereof neither had this Exceptant any notice thereof att the time of his purchase thereof from his Father neither was the same ever payd by or demanded of this Exceptants Father dureing the time he enjoyed it nor of this Exceptant since he became seized thereof untill the late execucon of the said Comicon or some very short time before And therefore this Exceptant doth insist upon the Provisoe contained in the said Statute of ye 43d of Queen Elizabeth and prayeth the benefitt thereof that his messuages or lands ought not to be impeached by the said order * * * *

5ly. For that the said Jurors or Comrs att the time of their respective finding or makeing of the said Inquisition or Decree had noe sufficient evidence that the said Rent or Sume of Two Shillings Eight pence was att any time of right or by custome payable or was ever payd att all as a Duty if ever payd or if ever att all that the same was noe otherwise than of Courtesy and by way of Free and Voluntary Contribution and meere benevolence.

6ly. This Exceptant saith yt admitting the said Comrs had a power to make any order or Decree touching the arrears or future payment of the said Rent or Sume of Two Shillings and Eight pence as for the reasons aforesaid this Exceptant is advised they had not, yet the power of execucon of the said Decree can bee only executed by processe against the person for breach or contempt for non-performance thereof And the Comrs cannot settle a Legall Interest in the Curate or his successors and invest him or them with a power of Distresse and thereby convert the p'tended payment of the said Sume of Two Shillings

Shillings and Eight pence into A Rent charge of Inheritance and the said Com^rs have therein exceeded the Power delligated to them by the said Comcon upon the said Statute.

7^ly. This Exceptant saith that the Com^rs have by their Decree charged the Exceptant with the payment of Eleaven Pounds costs to the said Wm Slayter whereas it appears not neither was it nor can it bee proved that the said Wm Slayter was att one shilling charge of the said Comicon Inquisicon or Decree or that the Com^rs had any power to Award the same.

8^ly. This Exceptant saith y^t ye said Comicon grounded upon the said Statute directed to the said Com^rs and in pursuance or by colour whereof they made their said Decree is not returned into the office of Petty Bagg of this Honourable Court as it ought to bee nor is any Certificate made upon the Back of the said Comicon or otherwise soe as it doth or may appear that the said Decree was made by Authority of the said Comicon or any other Comicon or Authority duely issueing pursuant to the Direction of the said Statute.

9^ly. This Exceptant saith that the said Inquisicon is utterly uncertaine and voide for that it finds and the Decree chargeth two thirds of one Messuage and Tenem^t or Lands lying and being in Stangerthwaite whereof this Exceptant is owner or occupyer with the paym^t of the said yearly Sume but does not find as it ought positively whether the Messuage and Tenement alone or the Lands alone or both together or what particular Lands by name Abbuttalls contents of Acres or other discription are chargeable therewith, but have left it att large that the Messuages or some Lands of ye Exceptants are lyable and the same ought to bee particularly ascertained for all which causes of errors manifestly appearing in the said Decree this Exceptant doth except thereunto And humbly prayeth that the said order and Decree may be reversed annulled and made void And this Exceptant and his Heirs and his said Messuages Lands and premises and every part thereof bee freed and discharged of and from the same and all Processe thereupon or by Colour thereof Issued or Issueing And this Exceptant may be dismissed with his reasonable Costs and Charges in this behalfe wrongfully sustained.

The other defendants made similar exceptions to the decree.

There is preserved the "Answ^r to Def^ts Exception : foul draught," in the case of Slayter *v.* Baynes, sen.

In it, after stating the case, Slater says the Exceptant

Being duely serv'd with the said Decree under seale of this Honourable

able Court did not p'forme the same but for delay hath put in Excepcons thereunto which this Respondt hopes this Honorble Court will not conntenance but will consider of costs to be paid by the said Exceptant in respect thereof.

He states that in the former trial before the Jury and Commissioners this Exceptant

Did then by his Councell object aye and Crosse Examine the Witnesses p'duced and sworne on the Repondts behalfe and urg'd whatever could be alledged agt the proofes made which plainely pvd yt the Chappell was consecrated and of greate Antiquity, and that there then were and ever had beene Rents or Sumes called Curates Wages of right payable and duely paid by the respective Ownrs or Occupyers of Messuages Lands and Tenemts within the said Chappelry Exceptinge from some psons who are Ownrs or Occupyers of Messuages Lands and Tenemts within the said Chappelry comonly called Quakers who out of a pretended scruple of conscience or for some simyler cause have for some yeares past withheld and detein'd the same in which number the Exceptant is one of the Chief Ringleaders,

though it had been proved that the former owners of his property had paid them.

2. As to the second and third Excepcons this Respondt saith that he cannot certainely sett forth how the sd yearly sume of 5s 10d originally became due and payable whether by Deed or will or by whom made—but believes as he has beene inform'd by severall Ancient Inhabitants within the sd Chappelry that at the time or soone after Consecration of the sd Chappell an agreemt was made by the then Inhabitants Owners and Occupyers of Messuages Lands and Tenemts within the precincts of the said Chappelry, that for and towards the maintenance and support of a Curate who from time to time should officiate as such and pforme the service att the sd Chappell that A rateable Charge was laid upon every respective Messuage and Tenemt and Lands wthin the sd Chappelry accordinge to the then value thereof, and by a voluntary and pious consent was established among them so as to charge their respective Estates with the paymt thereof in such p'porcons as they were then severally rated and to descend to their heires chargeable with the sd sevrall Sumes so rated as aforesd and also when any owners of Messuages Lands and Tenemts lying within the sd Chappelry did convey such their respective Messuages Lands Tenemts the rateable Rent or Sume payable to the Curate of ye sd Chappell for ye time beinge was alwayes

aiwayes charged and menconed as a due paym^t issuable thereout for ever and so has beene used and done from time immemoriall and is still used and done within ye s^d Chappelry, and this Respond^t humbly hopes that such Customary paym^ts as aforesaid will fall within the Influence of ye s^d Statute and power of the Comiconers of Charitable uses and therefore submitts to the judgement of this Hono^rble Cort therein And this Respond^t further saith that he cannot ascertaine the particular Lands by name Abbuttalls or Contents of Acres y^t the Exceptant is owner or occupyer of within the s^d Chapelry this Respond^t beinge onely directed by some old Rentalls whereby his predecessors the former Curates of Killington aforesaid did make their Collection, wherein the s^d Messuage and Tenem^t at Stangerthw^te enjoyed by the s^d Exceptant is charg'd with the said yearely Payment of 5^s 10^d to ye Curate of the s^d Chappell for ye time beinge.

The paper then deals with the sources from which the Exceptant Baynes had acquired his Estate, by inheritance, and purchase from one John Robinson; he believes and hopes to prove that Baynes had notice of the charge upon it, by reason of which there would be an abatement in the purchase money.

This Respond^t is thus rather induced to believe the same for that he has heard John Robinson aforenamed often say y^t while ye s^d last menconed premisses were in his possession y^t there was a Sallery or Rent due thereout to ye Curate of Killington afores^d for ye time beinge which he order'd his Tenn^t or Farm^r of ye prmisses to pay from time to time as ye same became due, which he did, and the same was allow'd in paym^t of ye Rent.

He believes that if the Exceptant would produce his deeds, it would be found that mention of this rent is inserted in the conveyance. But with regard to a property purchased from Bryan Walker,

It may be true the s^d Exceptant may not have and enjoy the whole Messuage Tenement or Land at Stangerthwayte which was formerly * * * * by the s^d Bryan Walker for since the said Exceptant became a Quaker he has beene whether * * * * or fraudulently with designe to deteine his s^d Rent or customary Sume from the s^d Curate and phaps, likewise to defraud the Rectors or Vicar of the parish Church of his Tythes and customary paym^ts, he has beene sometimes exchanging pticular Lands or Closes with one James Baynes

Baynes his Brother who has severall grounds which lye contiguous thereto, so y^t the Lands and Tenem^ts of the s^d Exceptant and the s^d James Baynes may be promiscuously till'd and enjoy'd together in Hotch pott nor can be discover'd but by the s^d Exceptant and his s^d Bro^r or one of them.

As to the seventh and eighth exceptions, he says:

That both himself and severall of his friends assisting him therein have beene att very greate charge expense and trouble in prosecuting this affaire against the s^d Exceptant whose chiefe designe as this Respond^t believes is to weary out this Respond^t by a tedious and vexatious suite, knowinge him to be but poore and not very fitt for trouble in lawe.

The next paper is the petition of Joseph Baynes, Senr., dated Oct. 24, 1699, to Sir John Trevor, Master of the Rolls. It is in a very decayed condition: but it sets forth that on Feb. 21, [1698 ?] Baynes had filed his exceptions to the decree of June 24, 1697, that he had received notice that Slater intended by a Commission to examine witnesses the following Monday, that the inhabitants of Killington were in a combination against him, and most of them contributors to Slater's expenses, and that Slater had summoned them and several of the persons who were on the jury before; and prays that he may have the carriage of the Commission instead of Slater. In the margin Sir J. Trevor orders that both parties attend on Friday, and meantime the Commission be stayed. According to the next paper the matter was heard by the Master of the Rolls on November 30, 1699, and he orders that Slater be at liberty to renew the Commission. Among the papers is a certified copy of Bishop Chadderton's grant of certain rights to Killington Chapel. The copy must have been obtained with a view to this stage of the trial, as it is dated October 26, 1699. I have copied it accurately, and am not answerable for the difficulties of expanding and construing it, or for the apparent errors of the certified copy.

Universis Christi fidelibus ad quos pntes Lræ nostræ pvenerint seu quos infra script tangunt aut tangere poterunt quomodolet in futur

futur Willmus Miseracone dinâ Cestriens. Epus Salutm in Authore salutis; ex parte comoran et Inhitan de Killington et Furthbancke paroiæ de Kirkbie Lonsdale nræ Cestrien Diæc. gravi querela et humili peticone nobis demonstrat, Q^d quum a dictâ Ecclia suâ poch per decem, novem, octo, septem et ad minus, sex mille passus ita possit et remot sunt, ut nec mortuor nec decedent corpora ad sepultura in dicta Ecclia paroch ferre possunt nec parvulos suos ad baptism portare sine magno tam animæ quam corporis piculo nec ad dina audiend ac sacramenta et sacramentalia inibi prout Xianos decet ac de jure tenentur pcipiend * * * * * propter loci distantia aquaru inundacones et procell. tempo * * * * hiemal illis in partibus sæpe sævien sine eorum magnis sumptibus laborum molestiis et incomodis, ullo modo possunt in ea de re Ut in Capella quod scituat. infra territor Hamlett sive Domin de Killington Furthbank prd et vulgatr vocat Killington Chappell Dina celebrentur sacramentaq ministrentur illis prd Inhitant ac oia quæ ad cultum dinum pertinent p Ministrum Curatum seu Cappellan idoneum eorum sumptu ac salaria conducend inibi fiant in tam amplis modo et forma prout in dict Ecclia paroch de Kirkbie jam fiunt aut fieri debent Licentiam et Facultatem nras concedere et imptire Dignaremur nobis humilr est supplicatum, Quo circa Nos Willmus miseracone Dina Cestriens Epus antedcus tam prdcæ Eccliæ paroch de Kirkbie Lonsdale qm Capellæ de Killington præd. Ordinarius supplicen dict Inhitan de Killington et Furthbancke peticon * * * * ac eidem eo magis favena quod eam ad divini * * * * cultus decorem et incrementum tendere intelligimus, ut in dicta igr Capellâ vocat. Killington Chapell infra fines et limites hamlett sive Domin de Killington et Furthbancke scituat per quemcuq Ministrum Curatum sive Capellan idoneum et legtmum ac ltime ordinat authate nra seu sufficienter approbat de tempore in tempus sumptib et expens. dict Inhitan conducend Dina celebrentur Sacramenta et Sacramentalia ministrentur, Matrimonia solenizentur, Corpora Mortuor in eadem Capellâ seu Cœmiterio ejusdem, sepeliantur eademq licitè inibi audire et pcipere, nec non iisd interee hamlet sive Domin prd Inhitan libere valeant et possunt, adeo liberè in tam ampiis modo et forma, put nunc aut nup in Ecclia de Kirkbie Lonsdale ead audire et pcipere seu iisd interee tenebantur Tenore * * * * Liam et Facultatem quantum in nobis est, et quantum de jure possims pro Nobis et successoribus nris concedimus p. pntes, proviso * * * *

Vera est hæc Copia Licentiæ sive Facultatis saltem ejus quod superest, Licentiæ sive Facultatis Inhabitantibus de Killington et Furthbancke concessæ in Libro publico in Registro Domini Episcopi Cestriæ,

Cestriæ, scriptæ et relatæ, Collacone cum eadem Copiâ et Facultate in dicto Libro scriptâ, fidelr factâ hoc 26° Octobris An° Dni 1699°.

Per me Hencum Prescott No^m Pub^m
Registrataii Deputatum.

There was some further obscure squabbling upon the question of the carriage of the Commission. I find instructions to Slater's counsel, dated December 7, 1699, to get the costs taxed and to oppose a further application of Baynes to the Master of the Rolls to take the carriage of the Commission from Slater and give it to himself. It appears that November 23rd had been previously agreed on by both parties for the examination of witnesses.

Which time Mr. Husband one of ye Respond^ts Com^rs appointed as a convenient Time for himselfe, But he happening to Comitt Mrimony on y^t day and not giving ye Respond^t Notice of it, ye Respond^t attended with his witnesses, But Mr. Husband not coming ye Comicon was not executed.

It is added that

It is very well known y^t Excepcons are genrlly putt in only for Delay.

There is an affidavit of Slater's attorney, Josias Lambert, on the same matter. The costs were taxed by order of court on December 9th.

There is also preserved a rough draft of interrogatories to be put to witnesses on the part of Slater as against Baynes, when the Commission for examination of witnesses should be held in January, 1669, but it does not bring out any new feature in the case.

Then comes a curious incident in the story. The curate of Killington (who signs himself "William Sclater,") deposes on oath, February 5, 1699, that on January 18 he attended at Kendal the execution of a Commission, directed to Charles Rigby, Esq., Benjamin Whitehead, * * * Chambre, Esq., Wm. Husband gent. Commissioners appointed for examination of witnesses in a cause depending in the Petty Bag office of the court and was there arrested

at

at the suit of Charles Saule gent. for £150 (costs of the former Commission) and detained in custody to the very great disturbance of the execution of the Commission. And he instructs his counsel Mr. Pauncefoote to move for the arrest of Charles Saule, (who had been a Commissioner and Clerk to the Commission in the former enquiry), and of Nicholas Atkinson the bailiff, for contempt of court in arresting Slayter while attending the Commission. The Master of the Rolls orders their arrest in a paper dated March 2, 1699.

Slater then instructs his counsel to move to stay Saule's proceedings for debt; and Lambert (Slater's attorney) makes affidavit, June 18, 1700, that Saule (who is described as of Saulewood Hall, Westmorland, attorney) has absconded and cannot be found.

I do not understand clearly whether in arresting Slater Saule was acting in collusion with the Quakers, and trying to put obstacles in Slater's way; or whether he was only looking after his own pecuniary interests in the matter.

The next recorded step in the case is an order by the Lord Keeper of the Great Seal that the case of Joseph Baynes v. Willm Slayter be set down for hearing on February 11, 1700.

Then follows the petition from Slayter to Sir Nathan Wright, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal. He sets forth the main facts of the case as before stated;

That ye Exceptant who is a Quaker and sevll other persons of ye same Perswasion out of a prtended scruple of conscience denyed to pay yor Peticonr ye yearely sums of money charged upon their Estates;

and recites the finding of the Commission of 1696:

That ye Exceptant having taken Exceptions to the sd Decree ye Cause came to be heard before yor Lordspp on ye 7th of this Instant March and yor Lordspp was pleased to affirm ye sd Decree as to the arrears and growing paymts but Reversed so much thereof as Related to the Power of Distresse and Costs given by ye Comrs and as yor Petr apprehended Reserved the Costs of ye Suite untill yor Lordspp should see

see how ye Decree would be complyed withall. But as ye Reg^r^ has taken ye Minutes there is no mencon made thereof.

That if ye Exceptant be secure from payment of Costs he will put yor Peticoner to all ye Expence that is possible before he will comply with yor Lordspps Decree and in case he Refuses paym^t^ yor Peticoner must be forced to signe and Inroll ye Decree and make out a Writ of Execucon thereof wch will cost y^or^ Pet^r^ much more then all ye Arrears and ye Growing Paym^ts^ are worth and after yor Peticoner hath prosecuted him to an Attachment he can have no more then £10 costs by ye Course of ye Court unless Costs of Suite are Reserved. Yo^r^ Peticoner therefore humbly Prayes that ye Reg^r^ and All parties may attend yor Lordspp and that ye s minutes may be Rectified and amended.

There are three copies of this, with the original which is signed by the Lord Keeper.

20 March 1700. Lett both sides with the Register attend me on the matter of this Petition the next day of Peticons whereof give notice forthwith. N. Wrighte. ls.

On March 31 (now 1701) the Lord Keeper gave his decision with respect so Slater's petition thus made. This paper is much damaged by damp and decay. But it appears that no one attended to oppose Slater's application, and it was ordered that Baynes

do pay unto ye s^d^ Respondent his costs to be taxed by a Ma^r^ unless ye s^d^ Exceptant upon Notice hereof to his * * * in ye Pettibagg shall on ye first day * * * next Terme shew unto this Court good Excuse to ye contrary.

Lastly I find Slater's formal release to Joseph Baynes, dated 25th October 1701, and reciting the order of the Commission on June 14, 1697. Slater gives a formal receipt for £5 5s. paid to him for the arrears, releases Baynes from the costs of the suit, and relinquishes the power of distress given by the decree of the Commission, so far as he has power to do so. There are similar papers as to Thomas Storey and James Baynes, and drafts of the release with letters to Baynes and Storey annexed.

It is pleasant to find that the curate and his family reaped

reaped some benefit from his hardfought lawsuit. It appears from the Killington registers that William Sclater became "Clarke Preacher of Killington" in 1677. He was buried February 15th, 1724, and was succeeded by his son, another William Sclater, who retained the living till his death, December 20, 1778, father and son thus being in office during the long period of 101 years.

ART. XI.—*Killington, Kirkby Lonsdale, its Chapel Salary. No.* 2. By the REV. CANON SIMPSON, LL.D., F.S.A.

Communicated to the Society at Seascale, September 25th, 1884.

I HAVE read with much interest a paper by Canon Ware, relating to an inquisition taken at the Moot Hall, in Kendal, concerning the chapel salary or portions thereof, payable to the curate at Killington. The documents quoted do not throw much additional light on the origin of these chapel salaries, or curates,' or preachers' wages, nor by what kind of deed or instrument they were secured to the chapel. There are, however, one or two points made more clear by these papers. For example, it seems evident enough that Killington Chapel existed before the license and faculty was granted by Bishop Chadderton, in 1585, for holding divine service, administering the sacraments and sacramentals, solemnizing matrimony, and burying the bodies of the dead therein, or in the churchyard thereof. How long before that date the chapel was built, and the salary provided, it is not so easy to find out. One of the witnesses gives it as his opinion from what he had heard that the land for the chapel and chapel-yard was given by the then Lord of Killington, and on that account the owners of the Manor House, and the demesne lands thereunto belonging, were exempted from paying chapel salary. Another says, he had heard it said, that several ancient men, above eighty years of age, believed it might be very near 120 years since the same was made parochial, that is, since the licence was granted, which gave it parochial rights, and in fact made it parochial. But neither of these witnesses tell us anything about the origin of the ancient chapel salary.

The history of the chapel itself is probably somewhat as follows :—The Lord of the Manor and other inhabitants of

of the district or lordship living remote from their Parish Church, found it desirable and convenient to provide a place of worship for themselves. The Lord would furnish the site, and the chapel would be built, either at his expense, or by the mutual help and contributions of the Lord and his tenants. This would be done with the consent of the Bishop, and probably the approval of the Vicar of Kirkby Lonsdale, and the chapel so built, would be a kind of oratory, or chapel of ease, which, at its institution, was not allowed to have a font for baptisms, and was intended to be used for the ease of the parishioners for prayer and preaching, sacraments being received, and burials performed at the mother church of Kirkby Lonsdale. It may be a question whether these oratories or chapels of ease were always consecrated, or were sometimes only licensed by the Bishop for prayer and preaching.* I am inclined to think that the great majority of them were consecrated, and especially those to which is attached a settled salary. Private chapels erected by noblemen, in or near their manor-houses, were anciently consecrated by the bishop, or ought to have been, and it is not likely that the privilege would be withheld from chapels built by the inhabitants of a district for their own convenience, and because of their remoteness from their parish church. If the chapel at Killington had not been consecrated before the inhabitants thereof petitioned Bishop Chadderton in 1585 to make it parochial, that is, grant a licence for administering the sacraments, and sacramentals, &c., therein, they would have included in their petition a request that it might be consecrated as well as licenced. This was done by the

* The license granted to Matterdale by Bishop Meye in 1580 contains the following passage, which seems to imply some doubt of the formal consecration of the chapel. It may, however, be understood either way. "Beseeching the Almighty that as we do not doubt but that He hath sanctified and hallowed the said chapel and churchyard through the prayers of the faithful made therein, and the preaching of His most blessed word: so it may please Him to grant, &c., &c."

inhabitant

inhabitants of Crosthwaite in 1556, who, asking for the same privileges as the inhabitants of Killington, also asked the Bishop (Cuthbert) that he would vouchsafe to consecrate a certain chapel of theirs, commonly called Crosthwaite Chapel, and grant licence for a chaplain to officiate therein, to be maintained by their own salary or charges, and not otherwise. The contributions agreed to by the inhabitants of a district or chapelry, and apportioned as charges upon the respective tenements would be one of the conditions of consecration.

As a general rule, prevailing from very ancient times, endowment of a church has always been insisted upon before consecration. The amount of endowment required has varied at different periods. I have a note which I cannot just now verify, that in the time of Archbishop Islip —1349-1366, a canon was made directing that the amount of endowment to be given to the church or chapel was not to be less than six marks (4*l.*) and at a subsequent period, when Simon Sudbury was Archbishop, 1375-1381, this sum was raised to twelve marks; but I doubt whether these rules prevailed in the county of Westmorland, where chapels that seem to have been built since 1381 have only the old endowments of about 4*l.* At all events, the ancient salaries of none of them, with the exception of Ambleside, amounted to 8*l.*

Sayer, in his History of Westmorland, says that twenty nobles was the sum prescribed as the endowment of a church or chapel, from and after the reign of Henry 6th; and several of the ancient salaries seem to have been 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* or thereabouts. The same statement is made by Burn and Nicolson. The foundation of some of these chapels with less endowments may, however, be older than is generally supposed, and may have been consecrated for prayer and preaching long before they were licenced for the full performance of divine service, administration of the sacraments, or the burial of the dead.

As

As was before observed, Killington seems to have been in existence for a considerable period and had been consecrated before the grant of the licence, about 1585, and the Chapel salary would be apportioned, and settled upon the chapel at the time of consecration. The licence itself no doubt provides that the celebration of Divine service, the administration of the sacraments, the solemnization of matrimony, and the burial of the dead, for which the inhabitants of Killington petitioned, might be done at their own cost and charges. But these costs and charges would not be met by the chapel salary, but by the payment of double fees, or offerings given to the chapel or church of Killington, in addition to those they were bound to give to the mother church at Kirkby Lonsdale.

The copy of the licence or faculty, given in the paper by Canon Ware, seems not to be complete; indeed, in certifying it to be a true copy, Henry Prescott, the deputy registrar, is careful to insert in his certificate the words "Saltem ejus quod superest." The licence probably contained a proviso that nothing there incontained should interfere with the rights and dues of the mother church at Kirkby Lonsdale, and might perhaps stipulate, that not only should the Vicar of Kirkby Lonsdale have the right to appoint or approve of the curate, but that the curate and his parishioners should repair, at least three times a year, to the Parish Church of Kirkby Lonsdale, there to join in Divine service, and receive the Sacrament.

In the licence given to Crosthwaite and Lyth, it was provided that no prejudice thereby arise to the mother church in tithes, oblations, or obventions, or other ecclesiastical rights, with a further proviso that this licence once in three years, be brought by the chaplain, or three of the principal inhabitants, to the parish church, and there, on the second Sunday after Pentecost, be read at the high altar, after reading the Gospel by the minister

there

there officiating, if by the vicar or churchwardens of the said church of Heversham, they be thereunto required. It also appears that on the 5th day of January, being the Twelfth Day eve, the said churchwardens of Crosthwaite should take their oaths to maintain and support the benefit of the mother church.

At one time the curate of the chapel was to be bound by an oath of due reverence and obedience to the rector or vicar of the mother church. This act of submission was enjoined by a constitution of Archbishop Winchelsea; the form of oath was as follows :—

> that to the parochial church, and the rector and vicar of it they would do no manner of hurt or prejudice in their oblations, portions, and all accustomed dues, but as much as lay in their power, to defend and secure them in all respects. That they would by no means raise, uphold, or any way abet, any grudges, quarrels, differences, or contentions, between the said rector or vicar and his parishioners, but as far as in them lay, would promote and maintain peace and charity between them.

The relation in which these chapelries stood to the mother church is shown by agreement made about the year 1580, which stipulates, amidst other things, that the inhabitants of Crosthwaite and Lyth shall pay towards the stipend and wages of the parish clerk of Heversham, yearly, on New Year's Even the sum of 17*s.*, and also shall pay for every corpse, being buried above the choir wall at Crosthwaite, 3*s.* 4*d.*, and for every corpse buried beneath the choir wall, 1*s.* 8*d.* Also, ordered and awarded that when any assessment, cuilibet, or proportion shall be laid and imposed for any necessary repairs of the Church of Heversham, the said inhabitants of Crosthwaite and Lyth shall also bear and pay a full quarter or fourth part of the same, so oft as need shall require.

These payments had to be made in addition to the cost of repairs of their own chapel, the payment of the salary of their own curate, and the fees for marriages, burials, and

and mortuaries, were payable to the Vicar of Heversham, as well as to the curate of the Chapelry.

Within my own recollection the chapelries of this parish of Kirkby Stephen were in a somewhat similar position as regards the mother church. The inhabitants had rights of burial in the chapel yard, but they had to pay double fees, one being due to the vicar of the mother church, the other to the curate of the chapel. A connection was kept up with the mother church, by the Vicar of Kirkby Stephen taking the duty at Soulby on Good Fridays, and on Easter Tuesdays at Mallerstang, and having the right to claim the services of the curates of these places to help him to administer the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper on Easter Sundays, it being presumed that the inhabitants of the chapelries of Soulby and Mallerstang would resort to their mother church on that day. Indeed, it is set forth in the Act of Consecration of Soulby Chapel, in 1663, "that the inhabitants of Soulby, in token of their subjection to the mother church, shall three times in the year at least, of which Easter is to be one, repair to the mother church, and there hear Divine service, and receive the Sacrament."

In olden times it seems to have been the custom for parson and people to come in procession, oftentimes bearing a banner. The curate would help the parson or vicar, and after service be entertained by him; the other people would partake of the hospitality of their friends.

It was owing to this influx of people, especially at Easter, that the wine flagons in use were so large, and the wine used at the Sacrament, as appears from the church accounts of the period, so much more in quantity than now. There are belonging to the Church of Kirkby Stephen two pewter flagons, each holding three quarts and upwards, and considering that all the parishioners were bound to communicate three times a year at least, of which Easter should be one, and that it was the fashion in those

those days to drink of the wine, not merely touch it with the lips, these flagons would be found none too large for their purpose.

I do not suppose it was ever necessary to issue in this county, directions similar to those issued by the Bishop of Norwich (Matthew Wren) in 1666. He directed the minister and churchwardens of great parishes, to avoid confusion and over long wearying of the minister, and of the parishioners, to take order that there may not come above three hundred, or, at the most, four hundred communicants to the Communion, for which occasion they are warned to have Communions the oftener. But the large number of communicants at Easter probably gave rise to a custom, the traces of which remain in some Westmorland parishes, of the old and married people attending Communion on Palm Sunday, the young people on Easter Sunday.

In his answer to the exceptions taken by Baynes and others, Mr. Slater says :— "He does not know how the chapel salary was given, whether by deed or will, but he thought the inhabitants agreed each according to the value of his property." The respective sums, if agreed to at the time, or as a condition of consecration, must have been settled by a deed or instrument of some sort; and I expect the fact would be recited in the deed or Act of consecration. Any such deed or instrument would, one thinks, be deposited in the Bishop's registry, and a copy thereof lodged either in the church chest of Kirkby Lonsdale, or at some convenient place in the chapelry. In the case of Ambleside, endowed with £14 a year, contributed by the inhabitants, the deeds, charging such sum upon their respective estates, were ordered by the bishop to be deposited in some place in the chapelry, convenient for the inspection of those concerned. But this is the only chapelry in the Barony of Kendal, concerning which I can find any mention of deeds or where they were to be kept.

As

As regards the amount of salary itself, each owner of property seems to have contributed according to the value of his tenement. In Kentmere the amount of contribution was apportioned according to the Lord's rent, at the rate of one shilling for each noble (6*s.* 8*d.*) of rent payable to the Lord of the Manor. At Burneside it was at the rate of one shilling for each seat in the chapel, which virtually was a tax upon the houses, and eventually became chargeable upon the tenement. The fact that in several chapelries, the salary is a few shillings less than £4, or £6 3*s.* 4*d.*, may probably be accounted for on the supposition that there were in such chapelries one or two inhabitants who refused or neglected to bind themselves to contribute to the salary, and thus the salary was so far short of the intended amount.

It is interesting to find from the evidence, that in conveying an estate in the chapelry of Killington and Furthbank, so far back as the reign of James I., the deeds expressly mentioned this charge of the chapel salary on the property. This would no doubt be the case in other chapelries, just as regularly as a charge of Lord's rent or a modus in lieu of tithe to the parish church; and those who subsequently acquired the property, bought it subject to this charge, and paid for it a less price in proportion. The charge upon it was just as much the property of the chapel curate, as the rest of the rent was the property of the subsequent owner; a rent charge in fact, to which the purchaser had no right at all, and in refusing to pay which, conscientious scruples, notwithstanding, he was really taking to himself that which belonged to another, and breaking the eighth commandment.

One of the witnesses in his evidence says, "He went to school at Killington Chapel about fifty years before, that would be about 1650." This opens up another interesting enquiry as to whether these out-lying chapels, from their first

first foundation, were not generally used as schools and taught by the curate. In some cases at all events, the salary was contributed on the condition that the curate should teach school, and when additional endowments have been given, they were often given on the express condition that the curate should teach the children of the chapelry free.

This was in many cases probably only a continuance of a duty already being done, and which had been done by the curate from the foundation of the chapel. In those chapelries in which there was no additional endowment for teaching, the curate was most likely lodged and boarded by the inhabitants in turn. He had in addition to his salary, what was called a "Whittle Gate," as the rector of St. Ninians had and still has on Sundays at Hornby Hall, if he chooses to claim it. There are some instances in which the chapel was originally built for a school, Swindale for instance, and the inhabitants obtained permission to use it for divine service, and the schoolmaster to read prayers on Sundays. It may be that in many of these chapelries, before they were licenced by the Bishop for the administration of sacraments, the officiating minister was not always regularly ordained. This, to some extent, may be inferred from the fact that in the licence or faculty, given to the inhabitants of Killington and Furthbank, to have divine service, sacraments, etc., it is a condition that they should be performed by a minister lawfully ordained by the Bishop of Chester, and from time to time approved of by him, implying that up to that time he need not necessarily have been so.

So late as Bishop Nicolson's visitation, in 1703, it appears that many of the churches and chapels in this diocese, or some part of them were used as schoolrooms. Within the last few years such was the case in the chapel of Mallerstang, and when the Countess of Pembroke rebuilt that chapel in 1663, and gave to it an additional endowment,

endowment, it was on the express understanding that the curate should teach the children of the dale to read and write, without any charge, stipulating that the same curate should be continued in his office, and implying that he was then engaged in teaching.

In their petition for licence to have sacraments in their chapel, and burials in their chapel, or chapel yard, the petitioners generally mention floods and storms, as well as distance from the mother church, and when they had no font in which their children might be baptized, nor a place in which they were allowed to bury their dead, it must have been a grievous hardship.

If I remember rightly, the petition from the inhabitants of Mardale set forth these facts in petitioning to have their chapel yard consecrated ; and they were fully justified in asking for the privilege. The corpse road was across an open common, up hill and down dale, and the road itself was well described some years ago by one of the inhabitants of Mardale, in answer to a stranger asking his way, "as a road you had to make as you went." Tradition has it, that on one occasion a very big man, something like "Cork lad of Kentmere," or Hugh Bird of Troutbeck, died at Mardale, and had to be carried to his grave at the mother church. Before reaching Shap the bearers were completely tired out, and broke down under their burden ; so they buried him on Rafland Common, and his grave is to be seen to this day, and is called "The giant's grave."

Such an event would induce the inhabitants to petition that they might bury their dead in their own chapel yard, and the beautiful little chapel of Mardale has now its own burial ground.

Swindale, somewhat nearer Shap, has not yet a burial ground, but, in order to accomodate the inhabitants of that chapelry, and other distant parts of the parish of Shap, it was proposed some years since to provide a hearse,

hearse, to be paid for by subscription. An old man of the name of Winder, living in Swindale, being asked to contribute, bluntly refused to give a farthing. He said "When he died he was not going to be put into a kist on wheels, and shacked to death; if his neighbours wouldn't carry him to Shap, as others had been carried before him, he would rather walk."

It would be, no doubt, interesting to enquire into the nature of the services, and who were the preachers in these chapels at different periods of their history. But I have already dwelt long enough upon the subject. I annex a list of chapels in the barony of Kendal, with the amount of ancient salary given to each, as set down in Burn and Nicolson :—

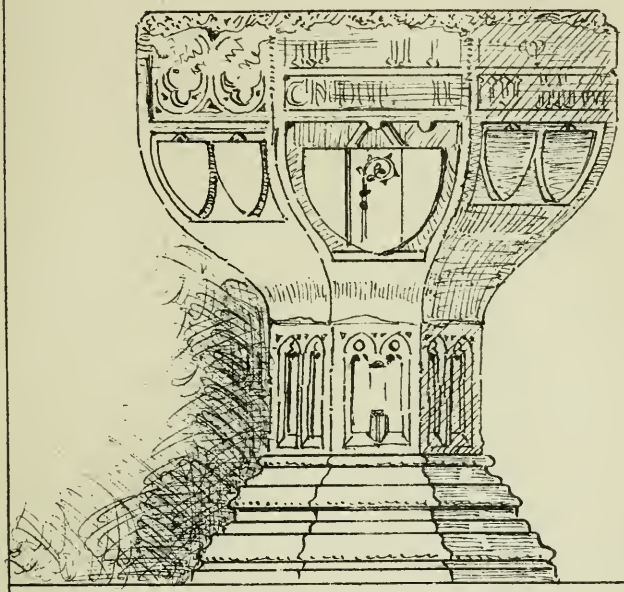
Old Hutton, with Holmscales, £6 13*s.* 4*d.*; Grayrigg, £6 13*s.* 4*d.*; Selside, £3 19*s.*; Burneside, £6 13*s.* 4*d.*; Longsleddale, £5 2*s.* 10*d.*; Kentmere, £6; Staveley, £6 13*s.* 4*d.*; Ings, £2 16*s.* 8*d.*; Crook, £3 16*s.* 6*d.*; Winster, £3 19*s.*; Underbarrow, £6 4*s.* 2*d.*; Langdale, £6 4*s.* 3*d.*; Troutbeck, £4 12*s.* 3*d.*; Crosthwaite and Lyth, £5 8*s.* 10*d.*; Witherslack, £6 13s. 4d.; Preston Patrick, £3 6*s.* 8*d.*; Hutton Roof, £4; Killington and Furthbank, £6 13*s.* 4*d.*; Furthbank, £3; Ambleside, £14 originally, but reduced to £12 4*s.* 11*d.* Some of these salaries have been divided at an after period, for example Old Hutton and Holmscales, Staveley and Ings. In the former case, Holmscales claimed exemption as not being part of the chapelry; in the latter a chapel was afterwards built at Ings, as in the case of Killington a chapel was built at Furthbank. The amount of ancient salary given in Burn and Nicolson is not always quite correct, and I should be much obliged for information on the subject.

ART. XIII.—*Notes on the Parish Church of Dalton-in-Furness, North Lancashire.* By JOHN FELL, Dane Ghyll. *Communicated at Seascale, September 25th,* 1884.

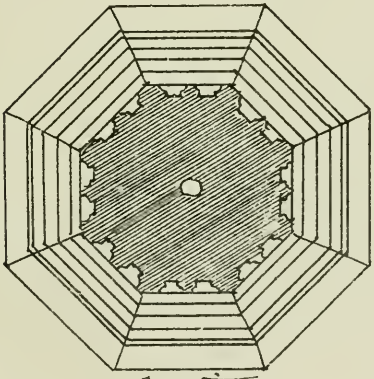
THE year of 1883 witnessed the entire removal of the Church at Dalton-in-Furness. The structure had become dilapidated and required substantial repair, and it was deemed wisest to make an effort to build a new church if the necessary funds could be obtained. Generous donors have provided the means, and among them may be specially noted the present lay rector, the Duke of Devonshire. An indifferent ecclesiastical edifice has now been replaced by a noble church from the designs of Messrs. Paley and Austin.

The church which has been pulled down, was in the main a modern structure and possessed no architectural merit; with the exception of the font and some small relics of ancient stained glass, probably no portion dated beyond the 16th century. The font is of the 14th century. It is of red sandstone, which has been much injured by lengthened exposure at some time or other to the weather, so much so that all the carving of the upper part has perished. It is octagonal in form, and on seven sides of the octagon there are two small shields on each face, and upon the eighth, a large shield filling the whole space. Upon this shield are carved the original arms of Furness Abbey, which are—*sable, on a pale argent a crozier of the first.* The tower, which was considerably older than any other part of the church, possessed no distinguishing feature to enable its date to be fixed, but it is worthy of note, that it was not battlemented until within the present century; a few ancient pews remained, none of a remarkable character, but the rest of the church had

St. Mary's Church: Dalton-in-Furness:



The Font. 1 inch Scale.



Section

E. G. Paley

had from time to time been so altered and modernized, that its principal features could not claim a higher antiquity than fifty to sixty years. The large gallery however of the west end had been built in 1767, and affords evidence of the growing want of church accommodation for the population at that date. The cost of this structure amounted to no more than £52 10s., yet it is rather remarkable that the builders came from Lancaster, indicating that there were no persons in the locality at the time capable of executing such a work. A faculty had been obtained for this gallery, and as was not exceptional in that degenerate period of our church history, the pews it contained were sold, and realized £104 7s., leaving a substantial profit on the operation. In 1788 there still remained in use a number of open-backed and open-ended seats of oak, grown black with age, and at that period the railings enclosing the communion table were also of ancient oak. I am informed that, until 1825, the floor of the church was simply of earth, and that it was the custom to have it covered once a year with the long white bent grass, which is common on the neighbouring sandhills of Roanhead and Sandscale. Possibly in primitive times a ceremony analogous to the rush-bearing at Ambleside and elsewhere took place, when this simple cover to the rude floor of earth was renewed ; of this however there is no record.

In 1788, the church consisted of a nave and south aisle only, which was quaintly described as the "Knave Row."

In 1789, several additional pews were constructed in the place of the old open seats, and in this year a subscription was entered into "for the purpose of purchasing a barrel organ to be set up in the church." It contained three barrels with ten tunes in each, and a fourth was subsequently added. The cost was as follows :—

Organ

	£	s.	d.
Organ - - - -	84	0	0
Extra barrel - - -	10	10	6
Gallery - - - -	12	0	0
Sundries - - - -	5	1	11
	£111	12	5

There are some entries at this date in the parish accounts, which may not be uninteresting;

	£	s.	d.
Rec[d] for a Burial within Church -	0	7	6
18 Quindams* at £1 4s. 6d. each -	22	1	0
The Parishing Rents† - - -	2	11	6
Payments :—			
Ringer's Salary and taking up Bells	1	16	0
Singers' Salary - - - -	0	10	0
Organist Do. ½ year - - -	0	10	6
Sexton - - - - -	1	10	0
Cleaning Church - - - -	0	10	6
6 Strange Ministers - - -	0	6	0
Killing 1 old Fox and 3 young ones	0	5	6
Washing Church Linen - - -	0	8	0

In the following year, 1790, which seems to close a period of active revival among the parishioners of Dalton, a "Ring of Bells" was purchased, which was the "ring of three," remaining until they were superseded by the peal of six bells in 1865.

Nothing of importance appears to have occured in the history of Dalton Church, until Mr. Michaelson, the owner of Old Barrow Island, obtained in 1815 a faculty, which enabled him to build an offset to the church on the north side, and place two or three pews in it for the con-

* Quindam, *i. e.*, quindecem, a fifteenth. This is one of the oldest taxes of Furness. The poor rate was laid by it in the last century.

† I have endeavoured to ascertain what this term "Parishing Rents" applied to. It is supposed they were rents collected on the church account for the use of some open spaces within the parish. The Duke of Buccleuch as Lord of the Manor of Dalton collects some similar rents Houses had been built on portions of these open spaces and a species of ground rent was paid which entered into the Parishing Rents. Some spaces remained open till recently, but the collection of these rents has ceased for a considerable period, and all rights in connexion with them are probably lost.

venience

venience of his family and tenants. This extension was followed by and absorbed in an enlargement of the whole of the north side of the church, by the erection in 1825 of a north aisle, with pews and a vestry, at a cost of £1500. The sale of the new pews proved ample to cover the expenditure upon this enlargement. At this date all the open-backed oak seats were finally discarded, and the earthen floor which had been hitherto covered with bent grass was replaced by a suitable new floor, partly flagged and partly boarded. In 1833, the south aisle received a new roof, and in 1865 a new organ was purchased.* At a more recent date the church was further improved by the whole of the south aisle windows being renewed in stone work, of good design, with stained glass, the gift of Mr. Baldwin of Dalton, the Duke of Devonshire, and the parishioners. The east window was also rebuilt, and filled with stained glass by Mr. Schneider.

Improved even as it had been, the Parish Church of Dalton remained a poor ecclesiastical edifice, and it may be regarded as a satisfactory feature of the present age, that the means have been provided to rebuild it entirely, and to erect a structure which is worthy of the site. This remarkable position seemed to demand such an effort, and as it is the site of an ancient Christian church, it may not be unacceptable to gather together for these notes, such facts as survive the lapse of time.

Mr. West, in his Antiquities of Furness, of which rich district Dalton claims to be the ancient capital, says :

It is but reasonable to conclude that Agricola acted upon the same principle in Furness as in other parts of Lancashire, and for its security erected a castellum at Dalton the same year that he conquered or received the surrender of its inhabitants. The area of the castellum has probably been all the churchyard, the ground on which the present castle stands, and from that to the precipice on the

* In this year also the "Ring of Bells" of 1790 gave way to a fine peal of six.

western

western side * * * Steep rocks on the south and a precipice on the western side, with a rampart* and ditch on the east secured the fort from surprise; and a brook, which flows in the valley below, provided the garrison with plenty of water.†

Upon the southern portion of this remarkable and picturesque position a Christian church has stood from a very remote period. It is somewhat remarkable that Stephen Count of Boulogne and Mortaigne, afterwards king of England, makes two grants of Furness to the Cistercians. The first in 1126, by which he gave "to God, Saint Mary of Furness, and the Abbots of this house" (Furness Abbey), the Furness district. The second grant is dated A.D. 1127, and Mr. Beck, in his Annals of Furness, claims to be the first person to publish it. Dalton is specially mentioned in both the grants, and in the following terms in the second:

Reddo dono et concedo Deo Omnipotenti et Sanctæ Trinitati de Savignao et abbati illius loci totam forestam meam de Fudernesio et Wagneia cum omne venatione quæ in eis est—et Daltonam—et omne dominicum meum infra Fudernesium.‡

To many readers of this paper it is probably necessary to explain that Dalton is distant about a mile from Furness Abbey. The beautiful valley of Nightshade in which the abbey lies, is divided about half a mile to the north of it, one fork proceeding in a northerly direction towards the estuary of the Duddon, and the other in an easterly direction. This branch of the valley passes beneath the bold escarpment of limestone rock, upon which, according to Mr. West, Agricola's castellum was probably built, and upon a portion of which the Parish Church of Dalton

* The present vicar of Dalton, the Rev. J. M. Morgan, informs me, upon a tradition going back about 75 years, that in altering and levelling the vicarage garden which is adjacent to the church-yard, it is believed that a portion of the ramparts of the Roman Camp at Dalton was discovered, but in the carelessness of the period every trace was removed to carry out and complete the improvement of the garden.

† West's *Antiquities of Furness*, second edition, 1804, p. 11.

‡ It may not be uninteresting to note that in 1134, when Calder Abbey was founded, among the twelve companions selected from the monks of Furness to accompany the first abbot, the name of Theodoric of Dalton occurs.

stood

stood anciently and now stands. The first direct allusions I find to Dalton again in the authorities to which I have access, is in the Bull of Pope Eugenius III., A.D. 1153. It is quoted by Beck, and mentions Dalton in the following terms :

Daltonam cum omni dominico ejus infra Furnesium et omnibus pertinenciis suis.

But although Dalton is mentioned in these ancient documents, I can find no allusion in any of them to its church at this period. It undoubtedly existed, for in the grant of lands made by Waltheof Fitz-Edmond, in Yorkshire, to the Abbey of Furness, in the latter half of the 12th century, the name "Gilberto persona de Dalton" appears as one of the witnesses to the charter. Somewhere about this period the contentions commenced between the abbot and the parson of Dalton, for the surrender to the former, of the entire ecclesiastical patronage and control of the parishes of Dalton and Urswick, which are adjacent to each other. According to the Bull of Pope Celestine III., A.D. 1194, both these parishes are handed over by the papal authority to the abbot, and in the following terms :

Et ecclesias de Dalton et de Urswic cum capellis et omnibus pertinenciis earum et libertatibus cum decimis et obventionibus ad domus vestræ paupertatem relevenandam et conventum in servitio Dei perpetuo sustendandum vobis auctoritate apostolica confirmamus, etc.

This Bull does not however appear to have given to the abbot the absolute control, which its language implies. There seems to be no record of any appeal against it, and yet I am inclined to think there must have been something of the kind, as in A.D. 1200, its action and power was evidently not absolute, inasmuch as Honorius, then Archdeacon of Richmond, intervenes and sanctions a special deprivation of part of the stipends of the rectors or vicars of Dalton and Urswick, upon the plea, that there was a lack

lack of grain for the brethren at the abbey,* as if, says Beck,

The incumbents of these churches would not suffer equally with others in times of scarcity.

The Archdeacon of Richmond in his mandate has the following somewhat singular passage :

Cum ab antiquis temporibus Ecclesiæ de Dalton et de Urswic ad monasterium de Furnesio noscuntur pertinere.

According to Mr. West, who cites as his authority the Archiepiscopal Register of York, it was not until the month of May, A.D. 1228, that the entire patronage and absolute control of the church of Dalton was finally handed over to the monastery of Furness. In the previous year some direct communication had taken place with the papal authorities, for in a Bull of Pope Honorius III., A.D. 1227, the vicar of Dalton is exempted from the payment of procuration money to the diocesan and his officials, if they failed to visit his church. Even in the settlement of 1228, the rights of "William, the vicar" of Dalton are guarded by a reservation, whereby he and his successors have forty marks per annum secured to them as a stipend. Apart from other questions affecting this large and important parish, these relics of information prove, that up to the early part of the 13th century, the vicar of Dalton occupied an independent and important position.

Among the contentions connected with the efforts to absorb Dalton in the ecclesiastical properties of the Abbey of Furness, that of the area of the parish seems to have been prominent. There was undoubtedly good reason to promote some division, as the parish up to A.D. 1219, was unwieldly and comprised the greater part of Lonsdale north of Sands, excepting the Cartmel district. In this

* Beck, p. 166.

year

year the abbot succeeded in breaking it up, diminishing the ancient parochial boundaries, by detaching from them the large district which formed, anciently, the chapelry of Hawkshead, but which has now been much divided by the creation of the extensive chapelry of Colton and other minor chapelries. Still it seems quite clear from the following letter which Mr. Beck quotes, addressed by Roger Pele, the last abbot of Furness, to Thomas Cromwell, that even up to the dissolution of the monasteries, Hawkshead was only a chapel of ease of Dalton.

Sir in most hertye and humble wyse I desyre you to be mine especialle goode master as ye ever have bene a certifying unto you that ye said Hawkshed never was any personage nor benefice butt of long tyme haith bene one chapelle of ease within the parochene of Daltone.

The abbot had strong reasons for promoting the division of this great parish. The conveyance of the dead alone from such remote districts as the confines of Langdale, a distance of about 25 miles, to be interred at Dalton, involved a most serious and objectionable undertaking. To anyone familiar with the hilly and mountainous portions of Lonsdale North of the Sands, it seems almost incredible how the dead could be conveyed such distances in an age which was destitute of roads and bridges. It is said that this formidable difficulty of distance and transport over a rugged country, was overcome by the corpse being deposited in a wicker basket, which was slung from two horses, and carried between them. But we who live in an age of convenient churchyards and cemeteries, can with difficulty imagine the proceedings of a funeral in those primitive times. Whether the body of a deceased person came with attendants merely, and without the escort of relations and friends for its interment, may remain possibly in final obscurity, but if accompanied by those who, of old as now, were attached to each other, the conveyance of the dead for interment at Dalton, from the Hawkshead district,

district, must have been both a difficult and painful undertaking.* The vicar of Dalton for a time resisted the division of his parish, and appealed to the papal authority against the proposed action of the abbot in diminishing it, and it was not until after formal enquiry in the 13th century, that this terrible hardship was finally overcome, and the parish actually divided for ecclesiastical purposes.

In 1291, the crusade of Edward I. led to a tax on the church property to make provision for the cost. The tenths of England, Scotland, and Wales were granted by Pope Nicholas IV. for this purpose, and there is an entry in the "Taxacio bonorum spiritualium," showing that the Church of Dalton bore its share.

Ecclesia de Dalton. xij marcas decima sexdecim solidos.

In the reign of Edward II., A.D. 1316, Furness seems to have suffered heavily from a devastating invasion of the Scots, and Dalton is called upon as a contributor to aid in repairing the damages caused by it. An entry occurs in

* The custom of holding an "Arvel" at funerals prevailed at Dalton till quite recent times. Brockett, in his Glossary of North Country Words, says, in speaking of an Arvel, "With us it was anciently a solemn festival made at the time of publicly exposing the corpse to exculpate the heir and those entitled to the effects from fines and mulcts and from accusations of having used violence." In Dalton the custom of the arvel was for the persons attending a funeral to divide themselves into parties of four each. The parish clerk having given notice in the churchyard at what hour and place the arvel would be given, the guests then assembled in their respective parties, a cake of the same description as that known now as a fair cake, but called the arvel cake, was given to each person, and a quart of ale was provided for the four. It was however by custom incumbent upon each party at the arvel festival to order another quart of ale to be paid for by the four to recompense the innkeeper for the use of the room, fire, or stabling provided for the convenience of the mourners or guests at the funeral. Before the days of hearses and mourning coaches the coffin was carried to within a mile or two of the church in a long cart; it was then taken out and borne on the shoulders of friends of the decease for some distance to the church. I am inclined to think the festival of the arvel arose out of the long distance over which the dead were transported and the necessity of refreshment. It is somewhat difficult for a local person to understand why the dead were conveyed beyond Ulverston from Hawkshead. A church existed there in the 11th century, if not earlier, and it would have saved five miles in distance. No doubt Hawkshead was not within the parish of Ulverston, but the convenience of the burying ground is so obvious in comparison with that of Dalton, that there must have existed very strong and ancient ties from a very remote period bringing the Hawkshead parishioners to their old parish and its burying ground, until the action of the Abbot of Furness in 1219 effected ecclesiastical severance.

the

the levy made by the abbot, showing the contribution claimed from Dalton :

Ecclesia de Dalton ad. xl. s
Decima. iiij. s

A transaction of an important character, affecting the possessions of the vicars of Dalton is recorded by Beck to have taken place in the reign of Edward III., and it implies a large surrender of land. In 1331, it appears that permission was asked to carry out the transaction, and a license was granted to William Cockerham, the vicar, to make over to the abbey one messuage, forty acres of land, three acres of meadow, two acres of wood, and one hundred acres of heath in Broughton and Little Marten.

For the purpose of providing a lamp to burn for ever before the high altar (Furness Abbey) at high mass.

So far as I can learn there is no knowledge now of the precise portions of land which were embraced in this endowment, but it would seem to involve a considerable impoverishment of the benefice of Dalton-in-Furness.

From this period, and for nearly a century, I find in the authorities I have had the opportunity to examine, no mention of nor incident connected with the Church of Dalton or its vicars. But further dissensions appear to have arisen between the abbots of Furness and vicars of Dalton, as to their respective rights to the greater and smaller tithes arising out of the parish. In A.D. 1423, this dispute was referred by Robert, abbot of Furness, and Richard Spoforth, vicar of Dalton, to Bowet, archdeacon of Richmond, for arbitration, and his award is published at length by Mr. West and by Mr. Beck. Extracts from this document may not be uninteresting in connexion with this account of Dalton Church. The parties to the award are thus described :

Robert Abbot and the Convent of the Monastery of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Furness regularly possessing the parsonage or rectory of Dalton

Dalton to their own proper use, with all its rights and appurtenances whatsoever, with the rights of presenting to the vicarage of Dalton,

and

the discreet man Richard Spoforth perpetual vicar in the Church of Dalton aforesaid.

The award then proceeds to confirm to the abbot all the tithes and emoluments of the living,

except such gifts and legacies as shall hereafter be left to the said vicar or his successors in personal legacies. The mansion house with appurtenances shall be repaired by the said vicar and his successors, perpetual vicars, reserving also the accustomed tithes of bread and ale in the town of Dalton with candles that hereafter shall be offered in the Church of Dalton at the Feast of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin Mary to the said vicar and his successors forever. And the Abbot and his successors and convent shall pay and cause to be paid for the time to come yearly forever by equal payments, as a total and sufficient endowment indemnification allowance and appointment for the said perpetual vicar over and above the aforesaid premises limited as aforesaid to the said present vicar and his successors for the time being the yearly pension of twenty six marks of good and lawful money of England in the aforesaid Church of Dalton at the Feasts of the Nativity of our Lord, Easter, St. John the Baptist and St. Michael the Archangel.

This award may be regarded as the final settlement between the abbot of Furness and the vicar of Dalton of contentions and struggles extending over 200 years. It is remarkable that no allusion is made in this document in fixing the stipend of the vicar, to the prior settlement of 1228, by which William, the vicar, was to receive an annual payment of forty marks. How long this ancient arrangement continued is unknown, but the award of the Archdeacon of Richmond in 1423 was, according to Mr. West, made in the reign of Elizabeth, "the rule for endowing the vicarage."

In the survey, taken under an Act of Parliament (26 Henry VIII), of the possessions of the Abbey of Furness, under the heading "Ecclesiastical Rents of Lancashire," the rectory of Dalton is valued as follows :

Tithe

Tithes of the Rectory of Dalton.

Of Barley and Oats - -	13*l.*	18*s.*	8*d.*
Of Lambs - - - -	3*l.*	0*s.*	8*d.*
Of Wool - - - -	2*l.*	13*s.*	4*d.*
Lent oblations and fines -	13*l.*	6*s.*	8*d.*
In all - -	33*l.*	19*s.*	4*d.*

According to Mr. West, the final agreement as to the stipend of the perpetual vicar of Dalton, was settled in 1577, in the nineteenth year of the reign of Elizabeth. He writes:

upon this agreement the stipend for the perpetual vicar of Dalton was regulated to be paid out of the issues and profits of the rectory of Dalton, which the said rectors in the rectory house have and now do pay.

A later survey taken by Parliament, in 1649, has the following entry:

Rectory of Dalton.

The Rectory of Dalton is per annum £31 9*s.* 2*d.*

Memorandum.—The said Rectory is in fee farm to Sir John Preston, of the Abbey of Furness, as we are certified, but no such grant was produced to us, though desired.

Upon a stone in the church an augmentation of the living is recorded in 1760.

A.D. 1760.
This V. of Dalton was augmen^{d}
And A D 1764 lands purchas^{d} with £400
Whereof given by

Q^{n} Anne's Bounty - - -	200
By Ld Chas Cavendish - -	100
By Exec^{rs} of Wm Stratford, LLD.	100

After the dissolution of the monasteries, Roger Pele, the last abbot of Furness, was presented to the rectory of Dalton, and a touching letter written by him to Cromwell has been preserved. The poor abbot prays to be permitted to retain his living in peace, for he pleads,

I have nothinge elles for my whole lyvying.

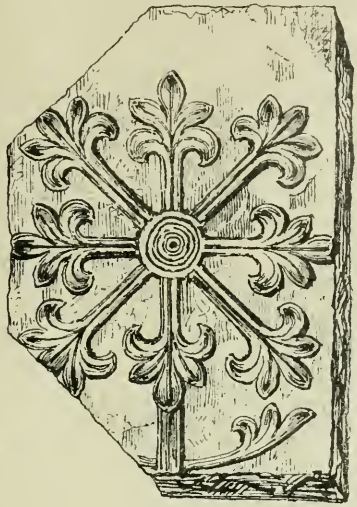
He

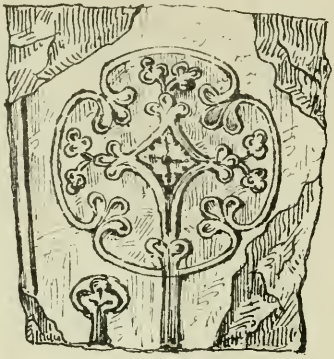
He further says he has sent

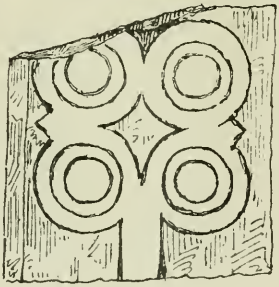
unto your Lordship for a smalle token fforty shillings in golde and that it may pleas your goodness that I may have ffavourable lettres to be in quiett and peas wyth my saide benefice wythout ffurther suete for the same to be made.

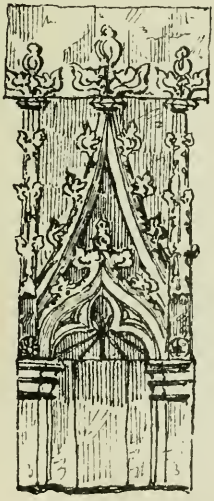
So ended the connexion between the abbots of Furness and the Church of Dalton. The patronage of the living was vested in the crown, the lay rectory remaining in the hands of the family of Preston, to whom the Abbey of Furness was granted after the dissolution, and eventually passing to the Duke of Devonshire, with the estates of the Prestons of Holker Hall. The lay rector has still ancient customs to fulfil, for he is bound to provide the wine for sacramental use at Easter. The vicar of Dalton has also to provide for the old chapelries of Walney, Ireleth, and Rampside, the wine for the Easter communion.

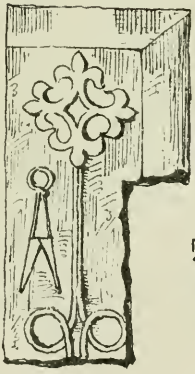
Since the dissolution of the monasteries, the history of Dalton Church has been comparatively uneventful. The parish registers date from May, 1565, or about that period. They may be a little older, but a portion of them has at some time been injured by fire, and it is not possible to determine the earliest date in consequence. As is usual, the earlier registers are on vellum. The original parish of Dalton was much reduced by the severance of Hawkshead, and the large district attached to that ancient chapel of ease has been gradually subdivided by the construction of the chapelry of Colton, and the minor chapelries within it, of Finsthwaite, Rusland, and Haverthwaite, while the parish of Hawkshead after this reduction has been further eased by the formation of the chapelry of Satterthwaite, and the erection of churches at Sawrey, Low Wray, and Brathay. Dalton parish, as defined after the separation of Hawkshead, has been further transformed. Although the churches of Rampside, Walney, and Ireleth are modern, or comparatively so, they were ancient chapels of

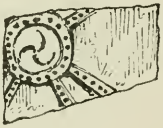


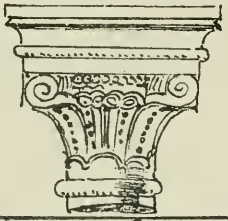












Antient fragments

St Mary's Church: Dalton-in-Furness.

E. G. Paley.

of ease, of the Low Furness portion of Dalton parish. An abnormal developement of population by the rapid rise of Barrow-in-Furness, has compelled the church to make further subdivisions of the portion of Dalton Parish, within which the borough of Barrow is situated, in order to cope with the spiritual wants of the people, and the Low Furness portion of the old parish of Dalton possesses now no fewer than twelve churches, while two large cemeteries provide for the dead. In all, the original parish of Dalton, as constituted prior A.D. 1228, can boast of twenty one churches in 1884, chiefly built by the liberality of a few laymen and at a recent date.

With so much local activity and so much wealth, created out of the rich mineral resources of the parish, it was not unnatural, that some dissatisfaction should prevail as to the condition of the mother church. The present vicar, the Rev. J. M. Morgan, has energetically applied himself to the remedy. The poor ecclesiastical structure, which occupied the site of the ancient church has been removed, and a church is now approaching completion, which is worthy of the ancient parish. For generations to come it will supply the wants of a portion of the population of the town of Dalton, and to them the facts collected in these brief notes may not prove unacceptable as time wears onward.

A list of vicars is appended, whose names have been preserved :—

1181-1185.	Gilbert parsona de Dalton.
1198.	William de Horthampt.
1330.	William Cockerham.
1423.	Richard Spoforth.
1473.	Robert Hartington.
1547.	Roger Pyle or Pele, last abbot of Furness.
	Roland Wright.
	Thomas Besbrowne.
1573	James Lees
	Richard Gardiner

1617.

1617.	William Bowett
1631.	Richard Tomlinson.
1662.	Thomas Whitehead.
1671.	Anthony Turner.
	William Lodge.
1756.	John Walker.
1772.	Christopher Couperthwaite.
	Joseph Thomson, Kirkbank.

James Morrison Morgan, present vicar, and last vicar of the Low Furness portion of the ancient parish of Dalton.

ART. XIV.—*The Arms in the Window*
Communicated at Alston, July 1C

DEAR SIR,

Herewith is an an attempt to solve the difficulty of the quartered ar
I am, de

To the Editor.

RICHARD BRAITHWAIT of Ambleside. = ANNE d. of WILLIAM SANDYS of Esthwaite.

ROBERT BRAITHWAIT. = ALICE WILLIAMSON, of Millbeck, Cumb.

THOMAS BRAITHWAIT, of Burneside, Recorder of Kendal, who had grant and confirmation of arms as above in 1591 by Edward Knight, Norroy. = DOROTHY d. of Robert Bindloss of Helsington.

† JAMES BRAITHWAIT, of Ambleside, died June, 1583, Kendal register. = JOYCE BEN of Loughri

SIR THOS. B. of Warcop d. before 1631. = ELIZ. DALSTON, d. of Dalston, of Dalston, Cumb.

RICHARD = FRANCIS LAWSON.

AGNES
ALICE
* { DOROTHY, MARY, ANNE
ROBERT d
JAMES die

GEORGE B., St. John's Coll. Cam, 1631.

SIR THOMAS of B. = URSULA, d. of Sir Jordan Metham.

* p. 105, vol. vi., these three are said to be daughters of G

† See *ib.* p. 104, Braithwaite impaling Benson. The same c

High House, Hugill. By W. WIPER.
1884.

n the window at High House, Hugill. See Transactions, vol. vi., p. 106.
ir, yours respectfully,
W. WIPER, 8, ROCK TERRACE, HIGHER BROUGHTON.

? GAWEN BRAITHWAIT=ISABELLA, d. of Richard Foster, Esq.

ANNE = JOHN BRADLEY.
ELIZABETH = GEORGE BENSON.
ISABELLA = THOMAS BRIGGS.

MPLUGH.
RTON.
LKELD.
ISCO.
KOVGH.
ung.
ng.

THOS. B., of Amb. d. s. p., who had grant and confirmation of these arms in 1602 by William Segar, Norroy.

Succeeded by GAWEN B., who would quarter his own and his brother's arms. = ELIZABETH, d. of Sir John Penruddock.

4th Son, ROBERT, of High House, Hugill.

th different colours. A remarkable example of local differencing.

ART. XV.—*The Bells of Carlisle Cathedral.* By the REV. H. WHITEHEAD, M.A.

Communicated at Caldbeck, August 22nd, 1883.

IN the tower of Carlisle cathedral, disused and almost forgotten, no peal rung on them within living memory, hang six bells, viz. :—

No.	Note	Diameter	*Weight	Date	Founders
		Ft. In.	Cwts. Qrs.		
1	D	2 $4\frac{1}{2}$	5 1	1659	Langshaws
2	C	2 9	7 3	1728	E. Seller
3	B♭	3 0	9 3	1608	Lees & Wright
4	A	3 $4\frac{1}{2}$	13 0	1845	C. & G. Mears
5	G	3 $8\frac{1}{2}$	17 0		I. B.
6	F	4 $0\frac{1}{2}$	21 2	1657	Langshaws

A heterogeneous company, from five different foundries, and of six different dates, but on that account historically the more interesting, recalling by their inscriptions, as well as by the traditions and associations of the belfry, some memorable episodes in the annals of Carlisle.

Taking them in chronological order we begin with No. 5, which is undated, but easily recognised by its long waist and mediæval inscription as the patriarch of the belfry. Its age is approximately known. Leland, speaking of "Gul. Strikeland", bishop of Carlisle from 1400 to 1419, says :—

Hic fecit mag. campanile in cathedr. ecclesia a medietate ad summum, una cum quatuor magnis campanis in eodem.—(*Collectanea*, vol. i. p. 472).

* The weight of a bell is approximately known from its diameter at mouth (Taylor's *Bell Catalogue*, p. 25).

Dr.

Dr. Hugh Todd, writing in 1688, and giving the episcopal register as his authority,* says :—

Willielmus de Strickland Episcopus Carliol. A.D. MCCCC. Turrem Conventualis a medio ad apicem extruxit et Pyramide lignea decoravit quam plumbo obduci fecit. Campanile quatuor campanis instruxit quibus Parochiani ad sacra convocarentur.—(MS. "Notitia Eccl. Cath. Carl.")

These writers merely leave it to be inferred that the tower was raised and the bells placed in it at some time during Strickland's episcopate. But Gibson, in his edition of *Camden*, published in 1722, says (p. 1023), without giving his authority :—

The belfry was raised, and the bells placed in it, at the charge of William de Strickland, Bishop, in the year 1401.

The local historians follow Gibson in assigning this date to the tower and bells.

These were not the first bells known to have belonged to Carlisle cathedral. The Lanercost chronicler, pouring out his soul in hexameters "de Combustione Karlioli", by which in 1292 a great part of the city was laid in ruins, exclaims :—

> Organa *campanæ* vox musica canonicorum
> Menti jam sanæ sunt instrumenta dolorum.

Fifteen years later—in the presence of Edward the First, lately arrived from Lanercost, where he had spent what was to prove the last winter of his life—Cardinal Petrus Hispanus, the Pope's legate, having first preached in the cathedral,

revested himselfe and the other bishops which were present, and then with candels light and *causing the bels to be roong* they accursed

* Todd's reference to "Reg. Epi" in the margin of his MS., if not a clerical error, must have been based on the certainty that Leland, from whom he seems to have copied, had seen Bishop Strickland's register; which is known to have been missing before Todd's time, and is missing still. Mr. R. S. Ferguson, F.S.A., in his "Attempt to trace the missing registers of the see of Carlisle" (*ante* vol. vii., pp. 295-9), shews clearly that Bishop Strickland's register was in existence in 1606. No doubt, then, it was seen by Leland.

in

in terrible wise Robert Bruce the vsurper of the crowne of Scotland with all his partakers aiders and mainteiners.—(*Hollinshed*, ii. 543).

Bruce, whether or not in consequence of these imprecations, though he dreadfully ravaged the rest of Cumberland, never succeeded in taking Carlisle. It was taken and burnt, however, in 1345, by Sir W. Douglas; and was again burnt, this time by accident, in 1392, when 1,500 houses and a great part of the cathedral are said to have been destroyed. The fire of 1392 doubtless proved fatal to the bells which had been "instrumenta dolorum" to the Lanercost chronicler and Robert Bruce.

It must have been in reparation of the damage done to the cathedral in 1392 that Bishop Strickland raised the tower,* and furnished it with "quatuor magnis campanis"; one of which still survives as fifth bell of the present ring.† It has round its shoulder, in stately floriated Gothic capitals, this inscription :—

+IHC +IN⁝VOCE⁝SUM⁝MUNDA⁝MARIA⁝SONANDO⁝SECUNDA.

From which it appears that in the Strickland ring it occupied the second place, *i.e.* next to the treble. Whether by "voce" to understand the voice of the bell, or to take "in voce sum" as equivalent to "vocor", I am not sufficiently acquainted with monastic Latin to decide. The reader can choose which he prefers of the two following translations of the hexameter, or make for himself a better than either :—

I { named chaste Maria / Mary with pure accent } sing
Second in the chiming ring.

In either case the fact remains that the bell's name is

* The reality of the fire of 1392, doubted by Hutchinson (*History of Cumberland* vol. ii. p. 599), but corroborated by discoveries made during the restoration of the cathedral in 1856 (Purday's *Lecture on Carlisle Cathedral*, p. 20), derives confirmation from Strickland's raising the tower and giving new bells in the very beginning of the fifteenth century.

† A set of bells is called a "ring"; a performance on them is a "peal."

Mary;

Mary; which name she* received at her consecration.

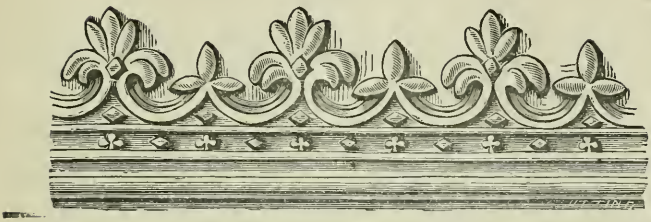
Before bells were hung, they were washed, crossed, blessed, and named by the bishop. . . . Some say that this custom was introduced by Pope John XIII, ... but it is evidently of an older standing, there being an express prohibition of the practice in a capitular of Charlemagne in 780.—(*Campanologia*, by W. Jones, p. 11).

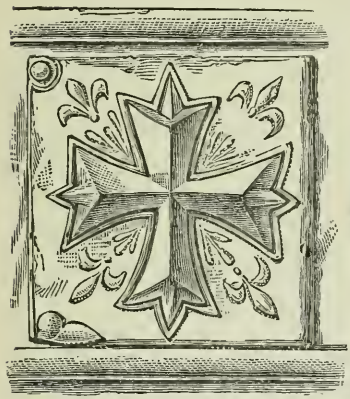
The initial cross, with three of the letters, A, M, and C, and a fleur-de-lis fringe which surmounts the sacred monogram, are engraved, full size, on the opposite page. The meaningless letter C in the sacred monogram may be thus accounted for. It would seem that mediæval scribes, unaware that the monogram was a contraction of IHΣOYΣ, besides mistaking capital *eta* for Roman H and small *eta* (η) for h, also mistook *sigma* when in its crescent form for Roman C. Emphasising these mistakes by reproducing them in Gothic letters, whereby the final letter loses all resemblance to crescent *sigma*, they have left no room for hypothesis that, whether aware or not of the original significance of the monogram, they meant it as they wrote it to stand for "Jesus Hominum Salvator". It is difficult, then, to conjecture what the Gothic IHC could ever have been supposed to mean. Leaving this question in the obscurity in which for ages it has rested, we pass on to notice that immediately below the sacred monogram on Bishop Strickland's bell, with initial cross and roundlets, are two Gothic capitals, viz. : + I : B. These letters, which are doubtless the founder's initials, may perhaps, together with the cross and the character of the lettering, eventually lead to his identification.

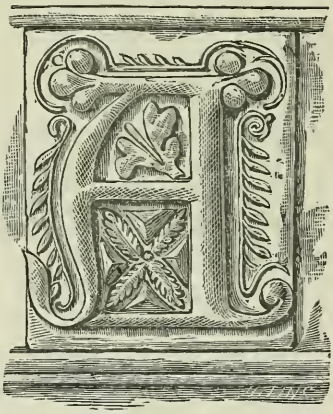
How long Bishop Strickland's bells remained intact in the tower there is no direct evidence to show. Indirectly however, as we proceed, we shall get light on this point. It seems clear that none of them shared the fate which in the reign of Henry VIII befel another ancient ring of four

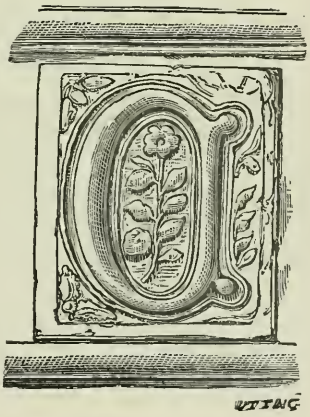
* A bell is always spoken of by ringers in the feminine gender.

in









in the city of Carlisle. Commissioners appointed in 2 and 3 Philip and Mary to make inquiry concerning removal of lead and bells from certain Cumberland abbeys and religious houses in Henry's reign, reported :—

The inhabitants of Carlysle dothe well remember the ffreers howses in Carlysle but what became of the bells ther they knowe not And towching the foure bells of the saide late ffreers in Carlysle weiing D cwt* weight ther was none remayninge in Carlysle at Mighellmas Anno xxxviii nuper reg Henry viij And for any other knowlege we can get none.—(MS. in Record Office).

Neither in the instructions issued to these commissioners nor in their report is there any mention of the cathedral bells, which omission implies that it was known they had not been molested down to 38 Henry VIII. Unfortunately the cathedral is one of several churches the names of which have been torn off from the Cumberland portion of Edward VI's. Inventory of Church Goods in 1552 (MS. in in Record Office). But, approximately knowing their places in the inventory, in which the Cumberland churches are arranged according to the county wards, we have no difficulty in deciding that the following list, the missing words of which are here conjecturally supplied† (in italics), is that of the cathedral :—

Carlysle Cathedrall

Itm too chalesses of silv^{r} xij copis sum
white sum grene iiij vestements wth all of
gere therto fowre gret belles iij lytill
belles one pare of sencers.

The item "fowre gret belles" is itself decisive as to this being the list of the cathedral goods, no other nameless church in the same ward being recorded as having any "gret belles" at all, let alone four. But, whilst it is thus rendered certain that Bishop Strickland's four bells survived the reign of Henry VIII, there may yet seem at first sight to

* In the instructions to the commissioners these bells are described as "weiiing in the hole vii c weight".

† The unmutilated lists serving as a guide to the missing words.

be

be room for doubting whether they all survived the reign of his son, whose commissioners were ordered in 1553* to allow only one "gret† bell" to remain in each church (*Seventh Report of Deputy Keeper of Public Records*, p. 319). The commission, however, so far as the bells were concerned, was not strictly, if at all, executed in Cumberland. To this day several Cumberland churches retain the identical bells reported by the royal commissioners as belonging to them in 1552, the most noteworthy instance being Greystoke, the only church in the county besides the cathedral which had "fowre gret belles" in 1552; which same four it still retains. The late Mr. T. North, F.S.A., the eminent campanist, thought that in many places "the bells were too popular to allow of their being removed with impunity" (*Rutland Church Bells*, p. 27). Especially would this be the case in Cumberland, where the bells, in addition to their ecclesiastical use, were in olden time in constant requisition as "fray" bells, as when, in 1596, the bold Buccleugh rescued Kinmont Willie from Carlisle Castle, and

> Scarce had won the Staneshaw bank
> When a' the Carlisle bells were rung.

Sir Walter Scott, in his *Tales of a Grandfather* (cap. xxx.), describing this exploit, says: "The bells of the castle rang out; those of the cathedral and Moot Hall answered them". No stress is to be laid on use of plural number by Border ballad and Sir Walter Scott as argument for believing that the cathedral had more than one bell in 1596. But in a city which had to bear the brunt of

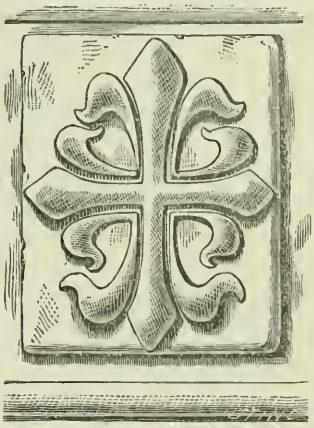
* The commission of 1552 had been confined to taking the inventory; that of 1553 was for the purpose of confiscating to "ye Kinges use" such church goods as were deemed unnecessary for divine service.

† This epithet, as applied in the commission of 1553 to church bells, seems used to distinguish the parish bells, of whatever size, from the Sanctus, Sacring, and hand bells, which were expressly exempted from confiscation, probably as being too small to be worth melting down or selling for "ye Kinges use". Such, no doubt, were the "iij lytill bells" at Carlisle cathedral. Bells of the latter kind mostly disappeared during the Elizabethan crusade against "monuments of superstition" (Peacock's *English Church Furniture*, passim).

Border

Border warfare we may be sure that any attempt on the part of Edward the Sixth's commissioners to remove three or even one of the cathedral bells would have resulted in such "disquyet of ye multitude" as they were expressly enjoined by their instructions to be careful not to provoke. It would on occasions of "soden fray" have seriously detracted from from the noise to be produced by "a' the Carlisle bells" if the cathedral did not retain all its "quatuor magnas campanas". We shall presently find other reasons besides those already adduced for believing that for a century and more after 1553 it did retain them.

Next in seniority to "Maria", in the present ring, and somewhat resembling her in length of waist, is No. 2; on which, in tall plain Gothic capitals—one of which is



upside down—with floriated initial cross, but without intervening stops, is inscribed :—

+ IESVS BE OVR SPEED
GEOR LEES EDMVND WRIGHT BELFOVNDERS
WILL ORD: L LM 1608.

The founders, Lees and Wright, are said to have been of Carlisle (Lukis on *Bells*, p. 16); but no local knowledge of

of their foundry has yet come to hand. Their initial cross is here engraved full size. William Orbell, according to Jefferson's *History of Carlisle* (p. 297), was head master of Carlisle Grammar School from 1610 to 1612; but his designation on this bell in 1608 as "L.M", which must mean "Ludi Magister" (Cic. *De N. D.* 1, 26), points to an earlier connection with the school, perhaps as usher, teaching reading, writing, and arithmetic, which in ancient Rome was the special function of the "ludi magister", who taught boys in the first stage of their education, from which they passed through subsequent stages under the the "grammaticus" and "rhetor". But how came Mr. Orbell, whether as head master or usher of the school, to be giving a bell to the cathedral? It is not necessary to suppose that he did give the bell. A clue to the reason why it bears his name is afforded by the following entries:

1603. Item unto William Orbell dewe to the Dean and Chapter xx^{s}.—(*Carlisle Corporation Accounts.*)*

1612. Per quittance 19 December to Mr. Bernard Robinson by the hands of Mr. W. Orbell for the half-yeare's rent of a burgage and a garth in Fisher Gate at Carlyle due to the Dean and Chapter 19 of December vj^{s} vij^{d}.—(Lord William Howard's *Housebook*, p. 56).

From which it appears that he was the chapter clerk; and, as such, in the name of his employers, he doubtless gave the order for the bell. That the initiatory suggestion as to the need of an additional bell came from the dean and chapter is unlikely, for the reason that, as shown by Mr. R. S. Ferguson in his lecture on "Carlisle Three Hundred Years Ago" (*Carlisle Patriot*, February 23, 1883), they were then non-resident. Mr. Orbell, therefore, as prime mover in the business, conceived that his was the name which had most right to be handed down to posterity on the bell. But what need was there in 1608 for a new bell?

* All extracts in this paper from the Carlisle Corporation Accounts have been supplied by Mr. R. S. Ferguson, F.S.A., editor of the *Cumberland and Westmorland Archæological Society's Transactions*, and late Mayor of Carlisle.

Little enough, certainly, if "Maria" had, since 1553, been the sole occupant of the belfry. There would have been no use in providing her with a single companion not much more than half her own weight. But to add a new treble to a ring of four, especially in the early years of the seventeenth century, was very much to the purpose. Dr. Raven says :—

We may mark the rise of change-ringing in Cambridgeshire by the improvements in the Benet peal from 1605 to 1615, by the making of great St. Mary's from four into five in 1611, and by the addition or recasting of the two trebles in the Stetchworth peal in 1608, &c.—(*Cambridgeshire Bells*, p. 77).

Assuming Mr. Orbell to have been a pioneer in the change-ringing movement, then in its infancy, we can sympathise with his feelings, if, having placed his name on the new treble, he exclaimed: "Exegi monumentum ære", if not "perennius", at least not less durable. Yet it may be doubted whether at that time he was partial to quoting Horace. He had, for a schoolmaster, an unfortunate name, and must have been painfully conscious of his inevitable nickname of "plagosus Orbilius" (Hor. *Ep.* II. i. 70). No wonder he soon disappears from the roll of masters of the Grammar School. Henceforth, emancipated from the duties of an uncongenial office, he was able to devote more time and attention to the belfry. Proud indeed must he have felt when he heard the bells ring out on the following occasion :—

The King's most excellent majestye was here at Carliol the 4th daye of August 1617 when the Maiore of the city Mr. Adam Robinson with Thomas Carleton recorder and the brethren presentyd hym firste with a speech then wyth a cup of golde valued at 30*l* and a purse of sylke with 100 jacobuses or pieces of the same: his Majestye vouchsafed very pleasantlye the speeche and gyfte thanked Mr. Maiore and all the citizens therefore presentlye wente to the Church accompanyed with the nobles both of England and Scotland. The next daye he did keep a feast royall wentt agayn to the Church in state with hys nobles being a saint daye where preached before hym Robert

Robert Snowden Bishop of Carliol and the Maiore that daye goinge before hym to and from the Church att the court gate kyssed his hande att their departure. The thirde daie the Maiore and the brethren took their leave of hys Majestye who used them verie graceously.—(Jefferson,* p. 46).

The 5th of August, we must note, though dedicated to "St. Oswald, King and Martyr", was no "saint daye" likely to be observed by James the First; but it was a day more likely to be observed by him than any saint's day, being the anniversary of the Gowrie conspiracy, "a day formerly kept in England as a holiday to commemorate the escape of James the First, when ruling over Scotland alone, from death at the hands of the Earl of Gowrie and his brother, Alexander Ruthven, in the year 1600" (North's *Lincolnshire Bells*, p. 226). Mr. North quotes instances where the bells were regularly rung on that day. The Rev. T. Lees, in a paper on the "Greystoke Registers," says:—

Neither the English nor the Scotch seem to have believed in the existence of this alleged conspiracy. The holiday was kept at Greystoke for three successive years, and then seems to have been entirely superseded by the 5th November thanksgiving for James' deliverance from the Gunpowder Plot, in the reality of which both nations believed (*ante* vol. i., p. 381).

No wonder Adam Robinson, after walking before King James in 1617, gave the following order, the first of its kind in the Corporation books:—

1617, Nov. 5. To the ringers at Mr. Maior command ij^{s} vj^{d}.

Which, by the way, sixpence to each ringer, certainly seems to indicate that there were five bells. Next year Mr. Orbell pays a visit to London, and is thus welcomed home by the mayor on his return:—

* Jefferson says he took this account of James the First's visit to Carlisle from "the register of one of the guild books"; which cannot now be found.

1618. Item ye 27 of October in a present of Sacke and Sewgar bestowed at Mr. Orble's house on his cominge from London ij^s^ vj^d^.

A man who could undertake a journey to London was somebody in those days, and Orbilius, no longer "plagosus" to unruly boys, but recipient of honour from civic authorities, could now, as he quaffed his "sacke", quote Horace with unalloyed satisfaction :—

Non cuivis homini contingit adire Corinthum.

He was back just in time for the peal on "ye gunpowder day", as the 5th of November is called in the entry for 1618 relating to the ringing of the bells, and was doubtless present at a select dinner on that day :—

1618. Item for ye alowance of a dinner upon ye V of Noveber being^e^ ye gunpowder treason day as a thankfulne for ye delivery of his Matie and estate of ye whole Realme xx^s^.

He appears for the last time in the corporation books under the following circumstances :—

1624. Item upon the next day being Tuesday after dinner in weodowe Slee plour 2 quarts of Sacke one quart of w^tt^ one quart of Claritt Mr. Maior Mr. henrie baines Mr. Adam Robinson Mr. Orbell and othe gentlemen being then present 00-03.09.

Henry Baines had been mayor in 1622. Amongst the "othe gentlemen present", then, on this occasion, doubtless reviving over their "sacke" and "claritt" the memory of those halcyon days when Adam Robinson walked proudly before King James, no one but Mr. Orbell is named alongside of "Mr. Maior" and two ex-mayors. Why was he never mayor himself? The explanation is, perhaps, to be found in the list of the rectors of Bowness on Solway :—

In the same year (1617) William Orbell was instituted, on a presentation by Henry Spiller of Tatham in the County of Middlesex, purchaser

purchaser from Anne Countess of Arundel.—(Nicolson and Burn's *Cumberland*, p. 215).

W. Orbell, L.M., if identical with Rector Orbell, who died in 1629 (*ib.*), was happily spared the pain of living to see the evil days which were soon to fall on the cathedral belfry. Some of the gentlemen present in 1624 in "weodowe Slee p̄lour" may have lived to see those days. If so, let us hope they survived them to rejoice in the same parlour over the completion of a considerable work in the belfry, the character of which will unfold itself as we proceed with our story.

The tenor (No. 6) has this inscription in clumsy Roman capitals :—

I WARNE YOU HOW YOUR TIME DOTH PASS AWAY
SERVE GOD THEREFOR WHIL LIF DOTH LAST AND SAY
GLORIE IN AXCELSIS DEO ANNO DOMINI 1657.
JOHN AND WILLIAM LANGSHAW WORKMEN.

The treble (No. 1) has round its shoulder an ornamental band of coventional foliage in a series of semicircles, and on its waist the Langshaw initials with date—

W.
I. ◇ L., 1659.

Some of the older inhabitants of Carlisle will remember a bell which for several years stood on the floor of the choir. The story of this bell, which had formerly been in the the tower, is thus told by Mr. R. W. Billings, in his book on the cathedral (p. 44), published in 1838 :—

The third bell (A sharp) was cracked while ringing during the rejoicing for peace after the Battle of Waterloo, and was removed to the back of the altar when the belfry was re-timbered. It has the following passage on its rim : "This Ringe was made six tuneable Bells at the charge of the Lord Howard and other Gentree of the County and Citie and Officers of the garisson by the advice of Mager Jeremiah Tolhurst governor of the garisson 1658."

In

In 1840 this bell was "standing in the aisle of the choir" (Jefferson, p. 171), where it remained until recast by Mears in 1845, to resume its place in the belfry. One Christopher Hodgson, who made a sketch of it—which is engraved in one of Billings' plates (No. XXX.)—says, in a MS.* note now in possession of Mr. R. S. Ferguson, that it had on its waist the initials I. W. L. It was therefore, like the tenor and treble, the work of the Langshaws, to whom was evidently entrusted the work of "making the ringe six tuneable bells". Its place must have been that now filled by the Mears bell, viz., fourth, not third, as stated by Billings;† and its note A natural, not "A sharp", in a ring with tenor in F natural. Whether, in making the ring to consist of six, the Langshaws recast three of the Strickland bells into four—for which there must have been metal enough and to spare—or substituted for them four entirely new bells, in either case they must have cast a fourth bell, which has disappeared, no record or tradition of it preserved: the place of which must have been that now filled by the bell cast in 1728 by E. Seller. These four Langshaw bells, with "Maria" and "Orbell", which were allowed to remain, constituted Major Tolhurst's "tuneable" ring. The date on the treble, 1659, in a ring "made six tuneable bells" in 1658, looks odd, but may, perhaps, be accounted for by supposing the Langshaws, when casting the bell (No. 4) on which they placed the inscription, to have ante-dated the completion of the ring, the treble‡ yet remaining to be cast, and not cast till the following year. They seem to have done their work in a leisurely manner, being permanently resident in Carlisle, as is shown by the occurrence of W. Langshaw's

* This MS. says that the initials and date "I S 1417" were carved on a beam of the old oak frame, removed when the belfry was retimbered. But Arabic numerals were not used in this country at that time.

† Billings made the mistake of regarding the tenor, instead of the treble, as first bell. His mistake as to the note is unaccountable.

‡ On which, as being the smallest bell, they may have thought there would not be room for so long an inscription.

name

name from 1651 onwards for plumber's work done for the corporation. Their designation on the tenor as "workmen" implies that they were not regular bell-founders.

But where all this time were the dean and chapter? Why was a work of this kind undertaken "at the charge of the Lord Howard and other Gentree of the County and Citie and Officers of the Garisson by the advice of Mager Jeremiah Tolhurst", with no sort of reference to ecclesiastical authorities? The answer is not far to seek. Mr. Ferguson, describing the condition of the diocese at that time, says :—

> The bishop's castle at Rose had been besieged and burnt. The revenues of the see had been assigned *in commendam* to support a non-resident bishop (Usher), then a fugitive from his Irish archbishopric. . . . After his death no successor was appointed. . . . The dean had long been evicted from his office. The deanery had been let for manufacturing purposes. . . . The cathedral had been ruthlessly mauled; about two-thirds of the nave had been destroyed, and the materials used to repair the castle and the main guard.—(R. S. Ferguson's *M.P.'s of Cumberland*, p. 2).

It has even been alleged against "ye parliament officers" that

> they were so moved w^h^ zeale and some^wt^ else against magnificent Churches that they even designed to pull down the whole Cathedrall and to have no Church but only St. Cuthbert's but ye Kinges hapie Restauracon putt an end to these and such like Sacriligious Intencon (Todd's MS. *History of Carlisle*).

But there must be some mistake here. It would be strange indeed if the officers "designed to pull down the whole cathedrall" at the very time when they were sharing the expense of providing it with "tuneable bells": which work was moreover being done by the advice of the governor of the garrison. If at any time the rest of the cathedral was in danger of sharing the fate of the nave, it was not the Restoration in 1660, but the surrender of the city to Cromwell in 1646, which "putt an end to such like sacriligious

sacriligious intencon". The deputy town-clerk, Mr. W. Nanson, writing lately on *Civic Archæology*, says :—

An immense amount of destruction was prepetrated at and after the siege of 1645. What with war, famine, and plague, the years from 1641 to 1648 were terribly disastrous to Carlisle. The city was at the mercy of the soldiers, municipal government was utterly disorganised, no money was in the chest, no accounts were kept by the chamberlain. . . . But by 1649 order and good government had been restored, and the citizens seem to have bethought themselves of replacing what had been destroyed.—(*Carlisle Journal*, March 26, 1883).

From much interesting matter unearthed by Mr. Nanson I select, as bearing upon the subject of this paper, the following order of the Court Leet jury on the 22nd of October, 1649 :—

That (according to an ancient order) the Aldermen of this Citty shall attend the Maior upon every Lord's day to the Church in their gowns and likewise to attend the Maior in the Market place at or before the Sermon bell to the Church sub pena vj^{s} viij^{d} toties quoties and the Common Counselemen to attend likewise sub pena iij^{s} iv^{d} toties quoties.

The institution of "sermon bell" has long been obsolete at Carlisle, and the only tradition of it elsewhere in the diocese is that recordcd by Bishop Nicolson concerning one of the bells of Ravenstonedale, which place he visited in 1703 :—

This Bell used to be rung in ye Conclusion of ye Nicene Creed; to call in ye Dissenters to Sermon.—(Bishop Nicolson's *Visitation of Carlisle Diocese*, p. 42).

In some places, as at Exeter, it was rung after the second lesson (Ellacombe's *Bells of Exeter Cathedral*, p. 33); elsewhere during Litany (North's *Rutland Bells*, p. 86). The respect ordered in 1649 by the Court Leet jury to be paid to "sermon bell" at Carlisle was but characteristic of much that was to follow. The Corporation Accounts, at an early period of the Commonwealth, show a mayor engaged

gaged with belfry reform, and on the best of terms with the man who was destined a few years later to remodel the cathedral ring :—

1652-3

Oct 27	Payed for wine wch was bestowed on Maior Tolhurst - - - - - - - -	00	06	04
Nov. 11	Payed for the belles wheeles & their repaireing as also for the gaites of the Churchyeard making and repareing - - - - -	05	17	10
Dec. 16	Pde for wine & Biskets when Mr. Maior & the Brethren w^{h} the Capitals did goe for to visit Maior Tolhurst at the Castle - - -	00	18	06
March 5	Given to the ringers upon Thanksgiving Day	00	05	00

The situation may be taken in at a glance. Cathedral belfry, what with war, siege, Scotch army, and general confusion, fallen into sad disorder. No peal rung since pulling down of nave in 1646. New governor of garrison arrives at the castle; surname Tolhurst; christian name variously given—"Jeremy" by Jefferson (p. 443), "Jerome or Jeremiah" by Ferguson (p. 444), "Jeremiah" on bell afore-mentioned; enthusiastic advocate of change-ringing movement now spreading far and wide. 'Sermon bell well enough in its way, Mr. Mayor', we may fancy him saying to the newly-elected mayor, meeting him near the cathedral on Sunday after election day,* 'but the whole ring should be set going again'. The mayor, Sir Wilfrid Lawson, Kt. (Whelan's *Cumberland*, p. 135), high sheriff the same year (*ibid.* p. 69), quite agreeable, forthwith gives orders for "wine wch was Bestowed on Maior Tolhurst", also for new "belles wheeles", not forgetting "gaites of churchyeard". Good understanding, thus auspiciously begun, between the military and civic authorities, is placed on still firmer basis a month later over "wine and biskets" at the castle. Bells now in full swing again, all five of them, as per item 5s. (one apiece) "to

* Which at that time was "Monday first after ye feaste of St. Michael" (*Old Corporation Charter*).

the

the ringers upon Thanksgiving Day", cent. per cent. advance on wage of pre-commonwealth times. No mistake about what going on in belfry up above.

What going on in cathedral down below not so clear. One fact emerges from the general obscurity; "man in leather breeches", at some time during Sir Wilfrid's mayoralty, year but not day or month reported, preaching in the "abbey" to "pastor of the Baptists with most of his hearers" (George Fox's *Journal*, 6th ed., vol. i. p. 226), on which occasion, perhaps owing to the suddenness of his appearance, he meets with no opposition. On "first day following", when he preaches again in the cathedral, which he now calls the "steeple house", he is attacked by "rude people of the city with sticks and staves", but is protected by some "friendly people", especially "soldiers", to whom he had preached with acceptance at the castle, where a drum had been beat to call them to hear him. Great commotion in the cathedral. The "governor", name not given, but must be Tolhurst, sends down "a file or two of musketeers into the steeple-house to appease the tumult", also to see what the soldiers were about. Worse tumult in the street on Fox leaving the cathedral; "city in uproar". The governor himself at last comes down and orders off some of the soldiers to prison; Fox says, "for standing by me and for me against the people". Wrong there, George, for once in your life. The governor would have served soldiers the same had they been on the other side. He must leave the imprisoning of civilians to the magistrates. Sir Wilfrid will see to that. Sir Wilfrid does see to it; goes to what seems to him the root of the matter, and puts Fox himself in prison:—

> There I lay till the assizes came; and then all the talk was that I was to be hanged. The high sheriff, whose name was Wilfrey Lawson, stirred them much to take away my life; and said he would guard me to my execution himself.—(*Ib.* p. 228).

Fox complains much of the conduct of the magistrates. Two

Two magistrates, however, not of Carlisle, Gervase Benson* and Anthony Pearson, both of Westmorland, try to befriend him. They jointly, when refused permission to visit him in prison, write a letter to "Carlisle magistrates, priests, and people", concerning his imprisonment (*ibid.* p. 236). Anthony Pearson, baffled by the magistrates, applies to the governor of the castle; not expressly said to have done so, but clearly did.

> The governor and Anthony Pearson came down into the dungeon to see the place where I was kept, and understand what usage I had. They found the place so bad and the savour so ill that they cried shame of the magistrates for suffering the gaoler to do such things (*Ib*).

He was not long in Carlisle goal. "The Lord's power", he says, "came over the justices, and they were made to set me at liberty." It is pleasant to think that one of the persons instrumental in procuring his release may have been our campanistic major, Jeremy Tolhurst.

But to return to the belfry. In the last month of Sir Wilfrid's mayoralty, on September 6, "an arme of the chime" is mended, the item for which is our first introduction to the chimes. The next date of any consequence in our story is that on the tenor, 1657; in which year Sir Wilfrid Lawson was again mayor (Jefferson, p. 447). The accounts seem to show that he did not find the bells in a satisfactory condition; apparently not more than three in use. It is evident that a more complete reform of the belfry than had been attempted in 1653 was now seen to be necessary, and by the advice of "Mager Jeremiah Tolhurst" was undertaken, involving a recasting of three of the bells; one of which, the original tenor in E flat, not returning to its old place, the key being changed from E flat to F, supplied more than enough metal for the two

* Probably an ancestor of the present archbishop of Canterbury, who has been making inquiry concerning his ancestors in Westmorland (*Carlisle Patriot, June* 29, 1883).

trebles

trebles required to make up a "tuneable ring of six bells". The municipal accounts do not enable us to trace the progress of this work, which was not paid for by the corporation. Sir Wilfrid, we may presume, interested in its behalf "the Lord Howard and other Gentree of the Citie and Countie"; whilst the sympathy and support of "the Officers of the Garisson", with the probable exception of a lieutenant who had been "convinced" by George Fox (*Journal*, i. 228), were secured by the major. The work, as already noticed, was done in a leisurely manner, and, though begun with the new tenor in 1657, was not completed until 1659.

It was just in time for great events:—"Kinges hapie Restauracon", as Dr. Todd calls it, in 1660! General election in 1661! Major Tolhurst a candidate for Carlisle! On which side? Not known. Mr. Ferguson in his *Cumberland M.P.'s* (p. 20), says:—"Tolhurst, as to whose politics we have little clue". No matter; victory "all along the line" for belfry reformers! Tolhurst in for Carlisle! Lord Howard and Sir Wilfrid in for Cumberland! Light on the major's politics has been sought by some from those of his son-in-law, John Senhouse of Netherhall (Whelan, p. 327). Plenty of clue to politics of John Senhouse, captain during the civil war in Charles the First's army, hero of romantic story:—

> Serving in the army when his elder brother died. . . . His parents naturally anxious . . . sent a young man, the son of a tenant at Ellenborough, who had been his playmate, to bring him home. The messenger arrived on the eve of the battle of Marston Moor, with result that, instead of bringing back his young master, the latter induced him to remain and share the danger with him.—(*Ante*, vol. vi., p. 135).

At Naseby "left for dead on the field", but found "still breathing" by his young friend, "who carried him away on his back", so that "he lived to continue the race" (*ibid*). Quite worthy to be son-in-law to our gallant major, but

but not necessarily affording any clue to his politics, the major having served in the parliamentary army, yet proud, we may be sure, of his brave cavalier son-in-law, being a hearty admirer of courage. Writing, for instance, on July 22, 1664, from the Custom House at Newcastle, to Pepys, an old acquaintance of his in Cromwellian days, he recommends for "comand of some ffregott" one William Tickell, thus describing him :—

A stoute galland man who in the last dutch war comanded a fire shipp If the navie bee but well ffurnished with such comanders as hee is the dutch or any other enemy will not bee able to deal with them.—MS. in Record Office.

Here with considerable respect we take our leave of Major Jeremiah Tolhurst; whom to have rescued, together with his brother officers, from the imputation cast upon them by Dr. Todd, is a source of satisfaction to the present writer. The worst thing that can be alleged against the major is that, when he ordered the recasting of three ancient bells, he omitted to hand down to posterity a record of their inscriptions. But great allowance is to be made for him: he lived in pre-Ellacombe days.

Mention has been made of a bell, of which no record or tradition has been preserved, which must have occupied the second place in the major's "tuneable ring of six" (*ante*, p. 148). This bell, probably cracked, would seem, on the showing of Browne Willis, writing in 1727, to have been before that year removed from the belfry. He says, speaking of Bishop Strickland's tower :—

In it hang five Bells, the only peal of so great a number in the diocese, except at Penreth.—(*Survey of English Cathedrals*, i. 286).

But Willis had no personal knowledge of Carlisle cathedral, the only English cathedral which he never visited,*

* As stated, after his death, by his friend Dr. Ducarel, in a paper read to the Society of Antiquaries (R. S. F.).

and

and must have got his information about Carlisle and Penrith bells from Dr. Todd, who was vicar of Penrith, and some time prebendary of Carlisle, whom he mentions as his "learned friend" (*ibid*). Dr. Todd, had he ever seen the cathedral bells, would have known better than to impute to the commonwealth officers the design of pulling down the whole of the cathedral. Still he may never have heard but five bells, and the information he gave to Willis may be accepted as evidence that the second bell of Major Tolhurst's ring may have been cracked, and if not removed from the tower was no longer in use; which is confirmed by the inscription on the present No. 2 :—

GEORG·FLEMING·DD·DECANUS {E. Seller / Ebor.}

GLORIA IN ALTISSIMIS DEO. 1728.

The letters in this inscription, except those of the founder's name and residence, are Roman capitals; the intervening stop is a flower. Edward Seller II, successor in 1724 to his father, Edward Seller I, and sheriff of York in 1731, cast a good many bells for Yorkshire from 1724 to 1764 (*Bell News*, vol. ii. p. 183). Sir George Fleming, Bart., son of Sir Daniel Fleming, Knight, of Rydal Hall, Westmorland, born in 1677, was appointed archdeacon of Carlisle in 1707, and dean in 1727, retaining both offices until he became bishop of Carlisle in 1734; he died in 1747. He had not long been dean, then, before the defect in the belfry was remedied. But he was not the donor of the bell; the order for which, dated the 18th of July, 1728, appears in the cathedral books.* Nor, perhaps, would he have stirred at all in the matter, having been a prebendary since 1700 and archdeacon since 1707 without having done so, and being, moreover, according to his epitaph in Carlisle cathedral, remarkable for "equanimity amidst all events

* For this information I am indebted to the present archdeacon of Carlisle, Dr. Prescott.

and

and occurrences", had not the chapter been reinforced in 1727 by a man of less equable temperament. John Waugh, son of the then bishop of Carlisle, appointed to the prebendal stall vacated by Fleming in 1727, and at the same time to the chancellorship in succession to Thomas Tullie, who had been both dean and chancellor, has left behind him traces of a habit of mind by no means likely to endure patiently the disuse or absence of a bell necessary to the completeness of the ring. No such terriers, for amount and exactness of information concerning church goods, including the bells, which had never before been mentioned in terriers of Carlisle diocese, have ever been sent in to the episcopal registry at Carlisle as those required from the clergy and churchwardens by Chancellor Waugh (*Old Church Plate in Carlisle Diocese*, p. iv). No doubt, on becoming a member of the chapter and chancellor to boot, he considered it his duty to visit the cathedral belfry, and had much to tell the dean, when next they met, of what he had seen there. The ring "made *six* tuneable bells" in 1658 by the advice of the governor of the garrison; commonwealth officers, of all persons in the world, sharing the expense! It would never do for dean and chapter to care less for the condition of the cathedral bells than commonwealth officers. There must be a new second bell. This point settled, the chancellor would relate the rest of his discoveries. They wondered who "Will Orbel L M" was; they laughed at the Latin on the tenor; they chuckled over the false quantities in the hexameter on "Maria"; they imagined what tales she could tell were she able to speak. How thankful they were that they lived in days when Carlisle had seen its last siege, and the fray bell was no longer heard from the cathedral tower!

Years roll on. They come and go, seventeen of them, and the eighteenth (1745) is following in their wake. Dean Fleming has become Bishop Fleming. His friend is still Chancellor

Chancellor Waugh. The governor of Carlisle Castle is Colonel Durand. Prince Charles Edward Stuart and his Highlanders cross the Border, and "false alarms becoming frequent in the town" Durand

desired that the only signal for a general alarm might be the ringing the great bells in the cathedral; and the chancellor appointed two men to attend constantly for that purpose, and never to ring without orders.—(Mounsey's *Carlisle in* 1745, p. 74).

They had soon to take their orders from other quarter than either chancellor or governor; for

on Monday, the 18th of November, Charles Edward made his entry into Carlisle seated on a white charger and preceded by not less than a hundred pipers.—(*Ib.* p. 50).

Tradition says that the peal of the cathedral bells on that occasion was the last ever rang. The story, universally believed, and still told to visitors to the cathedral, is that they were forthwith sentenced to silence for a hundred years; since the expiration of which period they have not been rung, it is supposed, for fear of injury to the tower.

One would think they must have been rung when the city was recaptured by the duke of Cumberland. But, whether rung then or not, they then ran a risk of being doomed to an endless period of silence. Prebendary Wilson, writing on the 9th of January, $174\frac{5}{6}$, to Chancellor Waugh, who was then in London, says:—

A demand made by Major Belfour, in the Duke's name, of the bells of our Cathedral, as a perquisite to the train of the artillery, was a surprise to the members of the Chapter here, and very ill relished by them. Mr. Birkett, Mr. Head, and myself, waited on the Duke to desire his protection. . . . The answer given us was that the Duke would not interfere in it; that if it was a perquisite we could say nothing against it. The Chapter here wod be glad to have your sentiments in this affair.—(Mounsey, p. 173).

The chancellor's "sentiments in this affair" were on this wise:—

I had heard of the demand of the bells, but would not believe it was so

so much in earnest: it surprises every person I have mentioned it to, and am fully persuaded that no law of this land, nor any military law, will justify Mr. Belfour's demand. . . . I dined this day with an old Lieut.-Gen. of great reputation (and others in that way of great consideration) who was out of patience at the mention of it.—(*Ib.* p. 180).

Under the influence of these "sentiments" the demand collapsed. Mr. Wilson, replying to the chancellor, says:

Mr. Belfour has left the town without pressing the matter further. . . Scandalous, unprecedented, and illegal demand!—(*Ib.* p. 181).

Discussion on this matter, if instituted in *Notes and Queries*, would probably elicit plenty of precedent for demand so astonishing to prebendaries, chancellor, and "old Lieut-Gen. of great reputation". Likely enough church bells of many a captured town have been melted down as "perquisite to artillery train". The duke seems to have thought it a matter of course. London Society of Ringers, at that time known as the "London Scholars", had they been aware of his royal highness's views on this subject, would have thought twice before "greeting the victorious Duke of Cumberland with a welcome home-peal on his return from the Scottish campaign" (*Bell News*, vol. ii. p. 66). Worse still, they were "allowed to call themselves the Royal Cumberland Youths, a medal, long in their possession, being struck as a trophy of the circumstance" (*ibid*). *Cumberland* Youths, of all names, so called after the would-be destroyer of Carlisle cathedral bells!

But how is the tradition of the bells never having been rung since 1745 to be reconciled with the statement of one of them having been "cracked while ringing during the rejoicing for peace after the Battle of Waterloo"? There may be no one now living who has any distinct recollection of having heard them on that occasion. But there should be persons still living who have heard them since, if the real facts of the case be as thus related in 1838 by Billings (p. 44):—

A few years back, from the supposition that the ringing of the bells shook the tower, it was resolved not to ring them any more. Small cords were then attached to the tongues (over pulleys) and conveyed through the groining to the floor of the tower, and one person can now comfortably make the whole give a faint sound.

It was then that the bell alleged to have been cracked in 1815 was "removed to the back of the altar", to return a few years later to the belfry, recast, as shown by inscription on the present fourth bell, at the Whitechapel foundry, by

C & G MEARS FOUNDERS LONDON 1845.

It has now nearly reached the fortieth year of its renewed existence without ever having once been rung. Whether it has ever been sounded by means of a cord tied to its clapper is not known. It is now subject to no such indignity. For what reason, then, was it placed in the belfry, and what purpose does it now serve? Its sole *raison d'être* at present is to supply the note A in the tune "St. David", played by the chimes* at noon and 4 P.M. But its date, exactly coinciding with the termination of the century for which the bells are traditionally believed to have been condemned to silence, looks as if the dean and chapter had intended to humour the tradition by having the ring in full swing again on the expiration of the hundredth year after the '45. Yet Billings, in 1838, writes as if he had never heard of the tradition. On the other hand, an old Cockermouth ringer has told Mr. W. C. Parker, captain of the St. Stephen's (Carlisle) ringers, that he well remembers having taken part in practising a peal at Cockermouth with a view to handling a rope in the expected ringing of the cathedral bells at the end of the hundred years. The ringing for the peace after Waterloo, Mr. Ferguson suggests, as there have been no wheels to the bells within living memory, and may have been

* The third note in "St. David", for want of the higher F, is struck on the treble (D).

none

none in 1815, perhaps may have been an exceptional arrangement of cord and clapper work, very likely to crack one of the bells. Possibly the publication of this paper may elicit information from our venerable friend "the oldest inhabitant" which will clear up the mystery.

The chimes, worked by the clock, the sound produced by hammers striking each bell on the sound-bow, have been shown to be an institution at least as old as the time of the commonwealth. But the commonwealth chimes were not the same as those now in use. Mr. Robert Wardale, curate of Stanwix, writing to Chancellor Waugh in April, 1747, says:—

> I think we have nothing new in Carlisle worth your hearing but the chimes, which began yesterday, the Duke's birthday, and go very well.—(Mounsey, p. 269).

It is to be hoped it was only by accident, though it looks rather like deliberate choice, from the way in which Mr. Wardale mentions it, that the new chimes "began on the Duke's birthday".

The arrangement, described by Billings, whereby "one person can comfortably make the whole give a faint sound", which must not be confounded with the chimes, has of late years been somewhat shorn of its original proportions, neither the Whitechapel bell nor the treble having now any cord attached to its clapper. Nor is the tongue of "Maria", though still retaining its cord, any longer wagged in this ignominious way, the usage of the "service bell", as she was formerly called when sounded whilst the clergy and choir were filing to their seats, having for some years been discontinued. The only bells now ever heard, except in connection with the clock and chimes, are Nos. 2 (Fleming) and 3 (Orbell) for service, and the tenor for death knell, age or sex of deceased not indicated. The mode of ringing these three bells, however "comfortable" for the "one person" whose duty it is to pull the cords, is

is objectionable. No need to go far afield in search of warnings against it, cord and clapper having, only a few years ago, proved fatal to two church bells in Carlisle, and but a few months ago to the gaol bell.

But what help is there for this if the ringing of the cathedral bells would endanger the tower? Perhaps it would do nothing of the kind. The way in which bells have been the cause of injury to towers is thus explained by Mr. Ellacombe :—

> In order to keep the cage steady, wedge after wedge would be driven between the timbers and the walls of the tower; and hence the irreparable damage done to many a beautiful building.—(*Belfries and Ringers*, p. 34).

Carlisle can furnish a case in point. St. Stephen's church was built in 1865 at the expense of Miss (now Baroness) Burdett Coutts, who also gave it a ring of eight bells; the cage of which has been made "steady" * after the manner described above, and already there is a crack in the tower. Mr. Ellacombe adds :—

> It is of the greatest consequence that the timbers should take their bearing independent of the masonry, *i. e.* not fixed into it.—(*Ib.* p. 35).

It is not only easy to avoid this mistake in Carlisle cathedral: it is difficult to make it, owing to the size of the belfry. The late archbishop of Canterbury, when dean of Carlisle, evidently anticipated no danger to the tower from the ringing of the bells. Appealing for funds for the restoration of the cathedral, he said :—

> The inhabitants of Carlisle will hardly wish to see their cathedral restored without having the bells put in thorough repair, which are said never to have been rung as a peal since 1745. This improvement could, I understand, be made for a few hundred pounds.—(*Circular*, June 19, 1855).

Dean Tait here writes as if he had taken professional

* Mr. Warskitt, of the Whitechapel foundry, who hung the bells, says that this was not done by him.

advice

advice upon the subject. It might be well if this matter were again taken into consideration; and, if it should appear, after full inquiry, that the ringing of the bells would do no injury to the tower, there is doubtless public spirit enough in the present generation of "Gentree of the Countie and Citie" to emulate the good work done by their forefathers in the days of the commonwealth.

Nor should they be content with a ring of six, there being ample room in the belfry for a dozen or more; there should be at least eight.* The completion of the octave would not greatly increase the expense of "having the bells put in thorough repair", provided the addition were made at the treble end of the ring, in which case the present treble in D, which weighs about $5\frac{1}{4}$ cwt., might be recast as F, whilst two new bells, of about $5\frac{3}{4}$ and $6\frac{3}{4}$ cwt., would be required for E and D.

The following table, in which an asterisk denotes a new bell, whether cast from old or new metal, will enable the reader better to understand the successive changes which have occurred in the belfry, as well as the change now proposed :—

	1401	1608	Note	Cwt.	1657-9	1728	1845	Note	Cwt.	?	Note	Cwt.
										1*	F	$5\frac{1}{4}$
										2*	E	$5\frac{3}{4}$
					1*	1	1	D	$5\frac{1}{4}$	3*	D	$6\frac{3}{4}$
					2*	2*	2	C	$7\frac{3}{4}$	4	C	$7\frac{3}{4}$
Orbell .		1*	B♭?	$9\frac{3}{4}$	3	3	3	B♭	$9\frac{3}{4}$	5	B♭?	$9\frac{3}{4}$
	1*	2	A♭?		4*	4	4*	A	13	6	A	13
Maria .	2*	3	G	17	5	5	5	G	17	7	G	17
	3*	4	F		6*	6	6	F	$21\frac{1}{2}$	8	F	$21\frac{1}{2}$
	4*	5	E?									

*Hutchinson (ii., 658) mentions the cathedral as having in his time (1794) "a ring of eight bells". Clearly a mistake.

It

It is here assumed that the condition of the bells is such that none of them need to be recast. Possibly an expert might—I do not know that he would—suggest the recasting of them all. But to such a proposal the local antiquarian society, and a good many other persons, would no doubt strongly object, preferring to allow them to remain as they are rather than to relegate "Maria" to the furnace. Let us hope that whoever may be called in as professional adviser in this matter may prove equal to dwelling together in unity with archæologists, and refrain from suggesting anything likely to impair the historical interest of bells associated with honoured names of Willielmus de Strickland, Orbell L. M., Jeremy Tolhurst, and Fleming D. D. Decanus.

NOTE.

(*Ante*, p. 141).

We scarce had won the Staneshaw bank
When a' the Carlisle bells were rung.

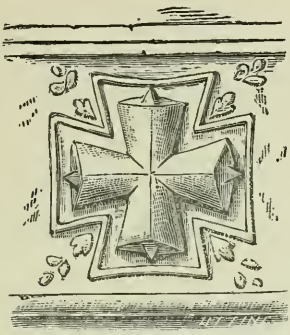
Among the bells which were rung on the occasion of the rescue of Kinmont Willie in 1596 by the bold Buccleugh, when "the castle bells rang out" and "those of the cathedral and Moot Hall answered them", were two, besides the cathedral "Maria", which have been described by Messrs. Ferguson and Nanson in these pages (*ante*, vol. vii, pp. 237-244), viz., the "Old Market Bell", dated 1584, and the "Muckle Toun Bell o' Carlisle", which bears the name of its donor, "Radulphus Comes de Westmorland", who died in 1421. The market bell has the following inscription, in Roman capitals :—

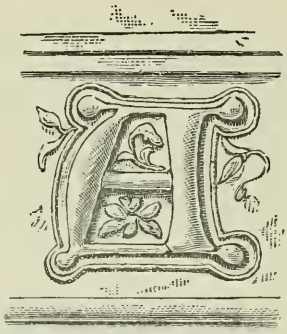
I - S - MAIORE : T - V - I - S - BA : 1584.

I - I

The initials I S, T V, and I S, are those of the "mayor and bailiffs". The initials I · I below are doubtless those of the bellfounder, whom we have not been able to identify. Nor have we yet succeeded in identifying

identifying the founder of the " muckle toun bell ". We here engrave his initial cross and one of his letters, in the hope that they





may come under the notice of some campanologist who may be able to inform us to what foundry they belonged.

ART. XVI.—*The Seal used by the Archdeacon of Carlisle; with Notes on the Seal of Chancellor Lowther.* By R. S. FERGUSON, F.S.A.

Communicated to the Society, at Seascale, September 25th, 1884.

THE registrar of the Diocese of Carlisle, Mr. Mounsey, recently called my attention to the seal used by the Archdeacon of Carlisle, and was kind enough to allow me to examine the matrix, or rather matrices, for there are two, and to take impressions in wax and in gutta percha.

The seal is of pointed oval form, about two inches long, rather over, and represents the Virgin and Child with St. Peter under tabernacle work of three canopies. St. Peter occupies the dexter side, and his keys are of gigantic size compared with St. Peter himself. The engraving is rude, and the countenances of the figures are somewhat grotesque. The background behind them is cross hatched, with small crosses and saltires. The *triquetra* is below their feet. The legend in Gothic characters is

S'CVSTODIS : SPVALITATIS : KARLIL : DIOC' SEDE : VACANTE.

The directors, Messrs. Franks, Tucker, and Way, of the Museum formed at Carlisle, on the occasion of the visit of the Archæological Institute to that place in 1859, assigned this seal to a late period in the fourteenth century. They appear to have only seen one of the matrices, which I shall now describe as Nos. 1 and 2.

No. 1 is clearly the original; it is a thin plate of brass, soldered, or in some way fixed to an iron back, which again has had another iron back, now loose, once soldered to it. The marks of a hinge show that this second iron back

back has superseded a hinged flap or flaps, which formed a handle to the matrix. No. 2 is a solid piece of brass, and is an inferior copy of No. 1; the cutting is shallower and more regular, and the rude rigour of the irregularities of No. 1 is superseded by a poor tameness. The engraving given in the text is from an impression taken from No. 1, but the engraver has softened down the irregularities; for instance in No. 1, one side of the canopy work is cut deeper than the other, a peculiarity which is hardly shown in the engraving, but which comes out in a wax cast.

The legend tells us that this is the seal of the custodian of the spiritualities of the diocese of Carlisle while the see is vacant; and the device is appropriate, for during a vacancy of the see of Carlisle, the Archbishop of York becomes guardian of the see, and in modern times, at least, appoints the Chancellor of Carlisle his commissary. During the vacancy caused by the death of Bishop Halton in 1324, William de Ayrmynne, Canon of York was appointed to take charge, as appears by his letter of resignation, printed

printed in "Letters from Northern Registers," from the Reg. Melton at York.

Venerabili in Christo patri ac domino suo reverendissimo, domino W. Dei gratia archiepiscopo Ebor., Angliæ primati, suus clericus humilis et devotus, W. de Ayrem ynne, canonicus Ebor., obedientian ac reverentiam debitam cum promptitudine complacendi. Pater ac domine reverende, de innumeris beneficiis et honoribus mihi per vos impensis, vobis, non ad quales debeo, sed quantas possum, ad multiplices assurgo gratiarum actiones. Verum, pater reverende, audito nuper rumore quod sanctissimus in Christo pater et dominus, dominus Johannes Divina providentia papa xxij episcopatum Karliolensem reservavit, et eidem ecclesiæ providit de pastore, statim administrationem mihi in spiritualibus et temporalibus commissam re et verbo dimisi cum effectu, et super hoc scribo magistro Johanni de Skiren, officiali loci prædicti, et idem dominationi vestræ reverendæ significo, si placet. * * * Ad ecclesiæ Suæ regimen Altissimus vos conservet per tempora feliciter longiora, mihi, vestro in omnibus, præcipientes vestræ beneplacita voluntatis. Scripta London, xiiij die Aprilis [1325].

It is clear that Messrs. Franks, Tucker, and Way only saw matrix No. 2, and assigned it to late in the fourteenth century. Matrix No. 1 might well be assigned to an earlier date, and may have been made for W. de Ayrmynne, Canon of York, who may have been the first CVSTOS to have hit on the happy idea of symbolizing his office by placing on his seal the saint to whom York Minster is dedicated, and the B. V. M., to whom is dedicated the Cathedral of Carlisle. Matrix 2 is, I have no doubt, a a modern copy of No. 1, but when engraved, or why, I cannot ascertain.

The question yet remains of why this seal should be used by the Archdeacon of Carlisle. It is very probable that the seal of the Archdeacon of Carlisle was lost in the long and stormy interval between the death, in 1643, of Isaac Singleton, Archdeacon and Chancellor of Carlisle, and the appointment of a new Archdeacon, Lewis West, in 1660. The new Chancellor, Robert Lowther, appointed in

in 1661, got a new seal, which was exhibited at Carlisle in 1859, by the Rev. Tullie Cornthwaite, and is described on the catalogue as

Brass matrix of pointed oval form, a seal of a Chancellor of Carlisle. A figure in a flowing dress and flat cap, appears seated under a round arched canopy; beneath it is an escutcheon charged with this bearing: six annulets, 3, 2, 1, (Lowther). Legend

+ REVEREND. EPISC. CARLIOL. CANCELL.

A new seal was also procured in 1660 by the Dean and Chapter of Carlisle; it is the seal they still use, and has on it the date 1660. It is thus clear that during the troubles of the Commonwealth, the seals of the Dean and Chapter, of the Chancellor, and of the Archdeacon, all went

went astray and were lost. The Dean and Chapter and the new Chancellor procured new ones, but Mr. Archdeacon West did not see any use in going to the expense of a new seal; he had very little use for one, nor had any of his successors, only for the sealing, Mr. Mounsey tells me, of inductions, and these were unfrequent.* Hence, probably, Mr. Archdeacon West thought, and so did his successors, that any old seal in the registrar's possession would do, as indeed it would in law.

APPENDIX.

Since the above was written, I have by the kindness of Mr. Percival, Treasurer, S.A., obtained access to a cast of Chancellor Lowther's seal, preserved in the collection of the Society of Antiquaries, and from it the engraving given on page 169 was made. It is as described before, of pointed oval shape; Chancellor Lowther, is seated in a large chair, with huge round knobs on the corners of the back, and at the ends of the elbow. The chair is within a round arched canopy, supported by fluted pillars with Corinthian capitals. The Chancellor is bearded. I imagine the flowing dress and flat cap to be the velvet cap and gown of a graduate of the civil law. According to Nicolson and Burn,† Chancellor Lowther held the degree of LL.B.; he was instituted as rector of Bewcastle in 1663, and held that preferment until his death in 1671, but he resigned the Chancellorship in 1666. As his seal was, in 1859, in the possession of the Rev. Tullie Cornthwaite, it is probable that the seal of Chancellor Lowther continued to be used by his successors, until the death of Thomas Tullie, Chancellor of Carlisle, 1683 to 1727, from whom the Rev. Tullie Cornthwaite was descended. It may also have been used by Dr. Waugh, Chancellor 1727 to 1765, who married a daughter of Chancellor Tullie. The Rev. Tullie Cornthwaite inherited much of Chancellor Waugh's property, includihg his papers.

I am not without hope that the matrix of this seal may yet be recovered, although at present it cannot be found. It is described as very massive, with a large knob or handle on the back.

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* The Bishop of Carlisle is his own Archdeacon, and executes most of the functions through his Chancellor.

† Vol. II, p. 307 and 478.

ART. XVII.—*The Brough Inscription.* From the *Athenæum*, of Nov. 22, 1884.

THE inscription from Brough, in Westmoreland, which has recently been purchased for the Fitzwilliam Museum, is the longest and by far the most interesting of the four or five Greek inscriptions which have hitherto been found in Britain. Brough-under-Stainmore, as it is called to distinguish it from Brough in Yorkshire, occupies, as the name implies, the site of ancient earthworks, now crowned by the ruins of a mediæval castle, well described in Mr. Clark's recent work on English castles. Brough commands the fertile valley of the Eden, and has been identified with the Roman station of Verteræ on the Roman road which led from the south to Appleby and Carlisle. In 1879, when the church was restored, a number of sculptured slabs were discovered built into the walls and foundations of the porch. One was a Latin inscription containing the name of Septimius Severus; another was a thick slab of coarse-grained carboniferous sandstone, apparently obtained from a neighbouring quarry, 23 in. in length and 12½ in. in width. It bore an inscription in twelve lines, in parts somewhat damaged, owing seemingly to the slab having at some period formed part of the pavement of the porch. The writing was considered by local antiquaries to be Runic, and casts were sent to Prof. Stephens, of Copenhagen, in 1880. He doubted the Runic character of the inscription, and submitted it to his colleague, the Professor of Greek, who after a fortnight's examination, gave it as his opinion that it was in no classical language or alphabet. It was also submitted, we believe, to Profs. Mommsen, Hübner, and Kaibel, the highest epigraphic authorities in Germany, who

who failed to decipher it. Prof. Stephens then attempted to read it as a Runic inscription, and dealt with it as such at great length in the third volume of his "Runic Monuments."* He pronounced it to contain unique forms of the Runic letters, the language being a peculiar Anglian dialect, otherwise unknown. His translation, a wonderful *tour de force*, consisting, however, largely of strange proper names, made the inscription to be the gravestone of an early Christian martyr. That such a reading should have been possible may be accounted for by Mr. Isaac Taylor's recent discovery of the Greek origin of the Runic letters. On the publication of Prof. Stephens's engraving, several scholars, including Prof. Sayce, Mr. G. F. Browne, and Mr. Isaac Taylor to whom Prof. Stephens had sent early copies of his book, came independently to the conclusion that the inscription was not in Runes, but in uncial Greek characters. By the united efforts of the above mentioned scholars, aided by Profs. Rhys, Ridgeway, and Hort, Messrs. E. B. Nicholson, Bradley, Arthur Evans, and Hicks—some of whom took the trouble of a journey into Westmorland in order personally to examine the readings —the inscription has at last been satisfactorily deciphered and interpreted, though not till several months of eager discussion.

It proves to consist of five very fair Greek hexameters, perpetuating the memory of one Hermes of Commagene, a Syrian youth who, at the age of sixteen, lost either his life or his liberty in an expedition against the Cimmerians—an expedition which may very possibly be identified with the Caledonian campaign of Septimius Severus in 209 A.D. The Latin inscription at Brough written in the reign of this emperor, and the peculiar forms of several letters, especially the *omega*, in the Greek inscription, are in favour of

* This reading first appeared in the Transactions of this Society vol. v., p. 291, having been laid before the meeting at Penrith on January 19th, 1881.

this

this conjectural date. Now that the original stone has been made accessible to scholars by its removal to the Fitzwilliam Museum, it may be expected that the few remaining doubts as to the correct reading will be speedily cleared up.

NOTE BY THE EDITOR.—This Society in its next issue of Transactions hopes to give the Greek version, but defers until the "few remaining doubts" are cleared up. It will probably take an opportunity of expressing its opinion upon the illegal removal of the stone from Brough-under-Stainmore to the Fitzwilliams Museum at Cambridge.

ART. XVIII.—*The Tombs of* (i.) *Margaret, Countess Dowager of Cumberland, and* (ii.) *Anne, Countess Dowager of Pembroke, Dorset, and Montgomery, in Appleby Church.* By R. S. FERGUSON.

Communicated at Seascale, September 25th, 1884.

I.—THE COUNTESS OF CUMBERLAND'S TOMB.

APPLICATION was recently made to the Consistory Court of Carlisle for a faculty to authorise the making of certain improvements and alterations in the Church of St. Lawrence, Appleby, including the removal of the tomb of Margaret, Countess Dowager of Cumberland. This illustrious lady was the youngest daughter of Francis Russel, second Earl of Bedford; she was born in 1560, and was married in the seventeenth year of her age to George, third Earl of Cumberland, and head of the noble house of Clifford; one of the most distinguished ornaments of the court of Elizabeth, and famous as a fighting man both by land and sea. Of him Canon Raine (*Archæologia Æliana*, 2nd series, vol. i., p. 2) says:

> As a public character, the Earl was certainly one of the most popular and distinguished men of his day, but, as a husband and a father, he is open to the gravest censure. His many voyages were ruinous to his fortune, which was also impoverished by the suits of law in which he was engaged. His reckless life was the cause of much domestic affliction, and occasioned his separation from his wife; and his profligacy and prodigality almost destroyed a splendid estate, which he had received without an encumbrance. At the early age of forty-seven, his constitution, weakened by wounds and hardships began to give way; a bloody flux assailed him, and he died in London, on the 29th of October, 1605. Part of his remains were interred at Skipton, where his daughter raised a sumptuous monument to his memory.

After his death his estates were the subject of prolonged litigation between his brother and successor in the title, Francis

Francis, fourth Earl of Cumberland on the one side, and his daughter, the Lady Anne, and his widow on the other. Full accounts will be found in Whitaker's History of Craven, and also in Canon Raine's paper, which contains the wills of Earl George, and of the two ladies to whose tombs I am about to direct your attention.

The Dowager Countess of Cumberland died at Brougham Castle, on the 24th of May, 1616. By her will, dated April 27th, of that year, she directed as follows:

I desire that if I departe this lyfe in Westmerland my body may be buried in that parishe churche where my deare bro^r^ Francis Lord Lord Russell* lyeth interred.

But she afterwards made a nuncupative codicil as follows:

As she had declared that her body should be buried, if she dyed in Westmorland, in the parishe church, where her deare brother, Francis Lord Russell, was buried, which was att Anwick in Northumberland she now left it to be interred where the Right Honble Anne Countess of Dorsett, her deare and noble sole dau. heire should thinke fitt.

Canon Raine suggests that the feud existing between her and the Cliffords it probably deterred her from asking to be buried by her husband at Skipton; while the distance of Alnwick from Brougham was, in all probability, the reason why her first intention of being buried at Alnwick was not carried out. She was interred in St. Lawrence's Church, Appleby, on the south side of the communion table, and a handsome altar tomb erected over her remains. This tomb was in was in a most inconvenient position, it hindered the communion table from being placed in the centre of the chancel, and interfered seriously with the proper performance of divine service, but I have no doubt

* He married Eleanor, daughter of Sir John Foster, Lord Warden of the Middle Marches. He was sheriff of Northumberland, and represented that county in parliament from 1572 to 1585. On the 27th of July, 1585, he was treacherously slain at a Border meeting at Hexpettgatehead. *Archæological Æliana*, 1st series, vol. ii., part 3.

that,

that, when this tomb was first put up, and for long afterwards the communion table stood east and west, and that there were no rails. Bishop Nicolson,* in 1703, noted that at several places in the deanery of Appleby the altars stood east and west, and rails were absent.

The faculty, so far as it related to the removal of this tomb or monument, was opposed by the Rev. Norcliffe Robinson, who claimed to be a connection of the illustrious lady, by Mr. Parkin of Ullswater, who claims a chapel in the church, and by Mr. Leveson-Gower, F.S.A. The Chancellor of Carlisle declined to hear any arguments on behalf of the first two gentlemen, as he considered that they had not such interest as to give them a *locus standi*, but he allowed Mr. Leveson-Gower's proctor to appear, without however calling upon that gentleman to prove, by legal evidence, his descent from the illustrious lady, whose monument was in question. Her heirs-at-law, the Barhams, did not appear. The application to remove was supported by the vicar and churchwardens, and by the trustees of an estate at Temple Sowerby, which the Countess of Pembroke charged with the maintenance of this tomb and of her own. Affidavits were also filed to show that the structure was in a dangerous condition, necessitating its being rebuilt. This proved to be the case.

A compromise was ultimately arrived at; the Chancellor ordered the monument to be moved under the superintendence of my brother, Mr. C. J. Ferguson, who was also to select the place where the monument was to be moved to. The Chancellor also ordered the place of actual interment to be marked by a stone and inscription. These orders have been duly carried out.

On taking down the monument, its core turned out to be composed of round stones, sand and mortar; this was

* *Miscellany Accounts of the Diocese of Carlile*, Bishop Nicolson, 1703, published 1877, by C. Thurnam and Sons, Carlisle, for the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society.

in

in a crumbling condition, forcing out the sides, already too weak to bear the heavy table and effigy; the whole structure was also settling over to the north. The presence of some copper dowels excited suspicion, and it was found that the monument had been repaired in 1836, but the settlement to the north had continued to increase.

The south side of the structure rested on, and nearly covered the burial slab of a priest, which had a large chalice cut on it. The inscription was obliterated all but

* * * ROBERTUS B * * S VICARIUS.

and no doubt commemorates Robert Baynes, who was instituted vicar in 1379. The north side rested on a large and heavy stone, which was raised, and proved to be a fragment of a Norman string course; underneath was loose sand and soil, and at a depth of two feet from the surface was the top or cover of a rude cist, made of undressed flags, through whose interstices the weight of the heavy stone just mentioned had forced the loose earth, thus accounting for the monument turning over to the north, the cist being not centrically under the monument, but rather to the north. In this cist the Countess doubtless lies, and the vicar is probably below her; but no attempt was made to open the cist or disturb the illustrious dead.

The monument was very carefully moved, and now stands under the arch between the chancel and the chapel, in which is the monument to the Countess of Pembroke. A core of fire brick carries the weight of the table and effigy. I do not think the monument could be better placed; the light falls well upon it; it stands free on every side, and every side can be examined with ease.

The monument rises from a slab of black marble, 6 ft. 8 in. long, by 3 ft. 2 in. broad, and 6 in. high. The top of the table, on which is the effigy, is 4 ft. from the floor. The

The monument is of alabaster. At each end of the long sides are trophies of a funereal character, sculls, cross-bones, the sexton's spade and pick, the hourglass, and scythe of Time, death's dart, an open book, a coffin covered with a pall, thereon a clasped book; a dial with the hand at 12, marked by a small cross, &c. Black marble tablets are let into the long sides, and bear inscriptions which I need not set out, as they are given by Bishop Nicolson, and in the county histories. A black marble table supports the effigy of alabaster. The figure is covered by a most voluminous cloak, whose hood comes over the head; over the hood is a countess' coronet in gilt metal. The hands are raised in prayer, and the cloak is thrown open from the head to the waist; the countess wears a ruff and cap to match, a bodice fastened with some forty little buttons; tight sleeves and cuffs; no rings, or jewels, or chains; the face is evidently a likeness, and is that of a woman between fifty and sixty, as yet little wrinkled by age; firmness and kindness are both combined therein; small mouth, full cheeks, and long nose. A sheep is at the foot of the effigy.

As no writer records the heraldry of the tomb I give it.

On the foot or east end of the monument, on a lozenge under a countess' coronet, a coat of eight pieces.

1. Argent, a lion rampant gules; on a chief sable, three escallops of the field.—*Russell.*

2. Sable (but should be azure), a tower argent *De la Tour.* This quartering came in by the marriage of Sir Theobald Russell (æt. 7 upon the death of his father, Sir William Russell, in 1311) with Eleanor (or Alice) daughter and heiress of John de la Tour of Berwick co. Dorset. She was his second wife.

3. Barry, or and gules of eight pieces, *Muschamp.* Sir William Russell, youngest son of Sir Theobald married a daughter and heir of Muschamp of Surrey.

4. Gules, three herrings hauriant argent. *Herring* or *Herringham:* Sir John Russell, grandson of the above Sir William,

William, who lived *tempore* Henry V., Henry VI., Edward IV., married Elizabeth, one of the two daughters and co-heiresses of Sir John Herring, who died 1456.

5. Sable, a griffin segreiant argent and two cross crosslets fitchée or, *Froxmere:* John Russell, *tempore* Hen. VII., (alii Sir John Russell, speaker of House of Commons, *tempore* Henry VI.) married Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of John Froxmere, Esq., of Froxmere Court, co. Worcester. This quartering occurs on the west end of the tomb, and there there are three cross crosslets fitchée and the griffin is between them. In the present instance, the griffin is made so big, and placed so close to the sinister side of the quarter, as to leave no room for the cross crosslet that should be on the sinister side; the cross crosslet in base is placed between the griffin's legs for a similar reason. The tinctures are painted on the monument as here given, but the cross crosslets should properly be arg.

6. Sable, three chevronels ermine.—*Wyse.* James, son of above John Russell, married to his first wife, Alicia, daughter and heiress of John Wyse, Esq., of Sydenham, co. Devon. This coat should have a crescent for difference, but it is wanting on the tomb.

7. Sable, three dovecotes argent.—*Sapcote.* Sir John Russell, first Baron Russell, *tempore* Henry VIII., married Anne, only daughter and heiress of Sir Guy Sapcote, (nephew and heir to Dame Agnes Cheney). Anne was widow of Sir John Broughton, of Tuddington, co. Beds, and afterwards of Sir Richard Jerningham. This coat should have a mullet for difference.

8. Argent, on a cross gules five mullets or.—*Semark*, one of the quarterings of Sapcote. Sir William Sapcote, grandfather of Anne, Lady Russell, married the heiress of the Semarks.

At the head or west end of the monument is a shield on which

which is a coat of nine pieces, impaling another of the same number.

1. Chequy or and azure, a fess gules. *Clifford.*

2. Sable (should be azure), three murthering chain shots.

The field is Sapphire 3 murthering Chain Shots Topaz. This coat armour was born by the Rt. Hon. the Earl of Cumberland next to his paternal coat and it is thought to be an augmentation. Some have taken these to be the Heads of Clubs called Holy Water Sprinklers; others suppose them to be Balls of Wildfire. I rather think them to be some murdering chain shot.—(*Guillim's Heraldry ed.* 1724, *p.* 330.)

As these charges are depicted on the monument they resemble cotton bales with loops and cords at the corners for lifting them by.

3. Sable, a bend flory and counter flory or.—*Bromfleet.*

4. Or, a cross sable.—*Vesey.*

5. Sable (should be vert), three flint stones argent. *Flint.*

This coat is quartered by the Right Honourable the Earl of Cumberland. See *Guillim's Heraldry*, *ed.* 1724, *p.* 110.

6. Gules, 6 annulets or.—*Veteripont* or *Vipont.*

7. Or, two bars gules; on a canton sable a cross patonce or. This must be intended for *Aton*, but should be—Or three bars azure; on a canton gules a cross patonce argent.

8. Per fess indented gules and argent; in chief two mullets and an annulet or. This is evidently intended for St. John; argent, on a chief indented gules an annulet between two mullets or, but on the tomb the mullets and the annulet form a triangle 2, 1, with the annulet at the lower point, and the division is per fess and not per chief.

Anastasia, eldest daughter and co-heiress of William de Aton (summoned to Parliament, 1371), married Sir Edward de St. John. Their daughter and heiress, Margaret, married a Bromflete, and thus the Aton and St. John quarterings come in with the Bromflete one.*

* A coat of the above eight quarterings is engraved in Whitaker's *Craven*, 3rd edition, p. 392, and they are named as above.

9. As

9. As the first.

The impaled coat is the same as that on the lozenge at the east end of the tomb, except that the pieces are made up to nine by repeating the first, and the Froxmere coat has three cross crosslets fitchée, instead of two.

The shield is surmounted by an earl's coronet, and has for supporters, a griffin segreiant on the dexter, and a lion rampant on the sinister, both gules. From the brilliancy of the colours, it is quite evident that the coats have been repainted, and wherever the field should be azure or vert, the painter has changed to sable, those colours having been probably obscured by dirt. The original painter is however responsible for some errors.

I am indebted to Mr. Leveson Gower, F.S.A., for undertaking the difficult task of identifying the quarterings, which he most kindly and successfully did, and also for the loan of a rubbing from two brass plates found at Thorby, near Skipton, which have the eight Clifford quarterings on them. See *Archæological Journal*, vol. vii., p. 305.

II.—THE COUNTESS OF PEMBROKE'S TOMB.

By direction of Lord Hothfield, to whom it belongs, the vault in which the Countess of Pembroke lies was opened. This was done with a view to ascertain if it required repairs, and also to ascertain its extent, as a catastrophe might have occurred, if her mother's monument had been placed over it or part of it. It proved to be a large vault, evidently intended for the reception of several bodies, but only that of the Countess of Pembroke is there. She lies on a stone bench directly underneath her monument in the church above; she is in a lead coffin, shaped to her body, exactly in accordance with her will, as given in the *Archæologia Æliana*.

And

And I desire that my body may be unopened, wrapt only in a sear cloth and lead, with an inscription on the breast whose bodie it is; and soe to be interred in the vault in Appleby church, in Westmorland, which I caused to be made there with a tombe over itt for myselfe, in which church my deare and blessed mother, Margaret Russell, Countess of Cumberland lyes alsoe interred.

The following is the inscription on the coffin plate of brass, as copied by one of the churchwardens, and verified by the parish clerk.

The body of ye most noble
vertuos and religious Lady Anne
COVNTESS DOWAGER of PEMBROKE
Dorset and MONTGOMERY DAVGHER and
sole HEIR to ye late RIGHT HONO^ble^
George Clifford Earl of CVMBERLAND
BARONESS Clifford WESTMERLAND
and VESCY Lady of ye honour of
Skipton, in CRAVEN and high
SHERIFFESS by ineritance of y^e^
covnty of WESTMERLAND who
departed THIS life in HER castle
of BROVGHAM in ye COVNTY ye 22th
March, 1675 HAVIN ATTAIN'D y^e^
age of 86 years THE 30th OF IANVARY
before.*

This is evidently inspired by her description of herself in her will.

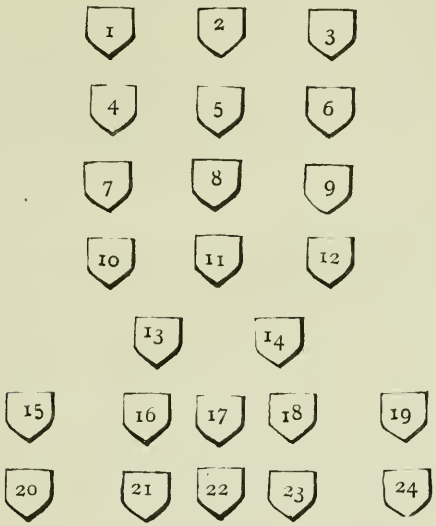
The tomb which the lady made for herself, and directly under which she lies, is an altar tomb in the east end of the north aisle, against the north wall. There is a long inscription on its front, which is given by Bishop Nicolson, and in the county histories. Above this tomb, on the wall, are the pedigrees and coats of arms of the lady's ancestors, arranged thus. The diagram on the opposite page shows the arrangement of the various coats whose blazon is given here, together with (in smaller type) the inscription under each :—

* Many of the capital letters are ligatured together in a way that cannot be shown without having very expensive type specially made.

1. Veteripont

1. Veteripont (gules, six annulets or) impaling gules a cinquefoil or, pierced of the field, for Beuly.

Rob. de Veteripont to whom, and his heirs, King John gave first of all his Lands in Westmorland and the Sheriffwick of the County. His wife was Idonia de Beuly.



2. Veteripont impaling argent, six horse shoes sable, for Ferris.

John de Veteripont, his wife was Sybilla de Ferris.

3. Veteripont impaling quarterly or and gules a border vairee azure and or, for Fitzpeter.

Rob. de Veteripont. His wife was Isabella Fitzpeter.

4. Clifford (chequy or and azure, a fess gules) impaling Veteripont.

Rog. de Clifford, fourth Lord of Westmorland. His wife was Isabella de Veteripont.

5. Clifford

5. Clifford and Veteripont quarterly; impaling or three chevronels gules, for Clare.

Robert, Lord Clifford, to whom, and to his heirs, King Edward the Second gave the Castle and Honour of Skipton in Craven, with the Lands thereto belonging. His wife was Mawd de Clare.

6. Clifford and Veteripont quarterly.

Roger de Clifford died unmarried.

7. Clifford and Veteripont quarterly, impaling gules a chevron between ten crosses pateè argent, for Berkley.

Robert Lord Clifford. His wife was Isabella de Berkley.

8. Clifford and Veteripont quarterly; impaling gules a saltire argent, for Nevil.

Robert, Lord Clifford, died without issue, his brother Roger his heir. His wife was Euphania de Nevil.

9. Clifford and Veteripont quarterly, impaling gules a fess and six cross crosslets or, for Beauchamp.

Roger, Lord Clifford. His wife was Mawd de Beauchamp.

10. Clifford and Veteripont quarterly, impaling gules three water bougets argent, for Ros.

Thomas, Lord Clifford. His wife was Elizabeth Ross.

11. Clifford and Veteripont impaling a quarterly coat (i). and (iv). or, a lion rampant azure, (ii). and (iii). gules three lucies hauriant argent, for Percy.

John, Lord Clifford. His wife was Elizabeth Percy.

12. Clifford and Veteripont quarterly, impaling gules three escallops argent; Dacre.

Thomas, Lord Clifford. His wife was Joan Dacres.

13. Clifford and Veteripont quarterly, impaling or, a cross sable, for Vescy.

John, Lord Clifford. His wife was Marg. Bromflete, Baro^{ss} Vescye.

14. Clifford

14. Clifford and Veteripont quarterly, impaling argent on a chief gules two mullets or (or argent, uncertain which) for St. John.

Henry, Lord Clifford. His wife was Anne St. John.

15. Clifford and Veteripont quarterly, impaling Percy, as in (11).

Henry, Lord Clifford, first Earl of Cumberland. His wife was the Lady Margaret Percy.

16. Barry argent and gules, a lion rampant or, Brandon.

17. Clifford and Veteripont quarterly.

18. Dacre as in (12).

Henry, Lord Clifford, second Earl of Cumberland. His first wife was the Lady Elianor Brandon, her Grace. His second wife was the Lady Ann Dacres.

19. Clifford and Veteripont quarterly, impaling argent, a lion rampant gules; on a chief sable, three escallops argent, for Russell.

George, Lord Clifford, third Earl of Cumberland. His wife was the Lady Margaret Russel.

20. Sable an eagle displayed within a border argent, for Tufton; impaling quarterly or and gules, a bend vairee azure and argent, for Sackville.

John, Lord Tufton, Earl of Thanet. His wife was Lady Margaret Sackvil.

21. Sackville, as above.

22. Clifford and Veteripont quarterly.

23. Gules, three lions rampant or, for Herbert.

Ann, Lady Clifford, daughter and sole heir to George, Earl of Cumberland. Richard Sackvil, Earl of Dorset, was her first husband. Philip Herbert, Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, her second husband. She was Baroness Clifford, Westmerland, and Vescy, and sheriffess of the said county, and Lady of the Honour of Skipton in Craven.

24. Sable a lion passant between three tilting helmets or, for Compton, impaling Sackville.

James Compton, Earl of Northampton. His wife was the Lady Isabella Sackvil.

ART. XIX.—*Church Goods in Cumberland in* 1552. By the REV. H. WHITEHEAD.

HENRY VIII, by his spoliation of abbeys and monasteries, set an example, which in many parts of the country was followed by patrons of livings, churchwardens, and others, who betook themselves to the work of despoiling the parish churches. It was to check this unauthorized spoliation, not however for the benefit of the churches, but for the purpose of seizing their goods for the royal treasury, that a commission was issued in the second year of the reign of Edward VI (1548) to inquire into the quantity and value of church goods throughout England. But, the commissioners having imperfectly done their work, another commission for the same purpose was issued in 1552; and this time the work was thoroughly done. Inventories were taken of all church goods in every county in England.

Many of these documents are still preserved in the Public Record Office. Unfortunately the MS. of the Cumberland inventory is in a mutilated condition, each leaf being partially destroyed on its inner side, so that the pages are alternately deficient on the left and right hand sides.

A separate document, also preserved at the Record Office, containing the instructions given to the Cumberland commissioners, is in the same condition as the inventory. In attempting a restoration of the text of this document, literal correctness being of less consequence than in the case of the inventory, I have conjecturally supplied, in italics, all the missing parts, in order that the reader, without accepting the restoration as verbally accurate, may be assisted to the understanding of the general drift of the instructions. Nevertheless, as this restoration has not

not been made without careful observation of the wording of similar documents, especially of some extracts quoted by the Rev. H. T. Ellacombe, in his "*Bells of Exeter Cathedral*" (pp. 34-36), from the instructions issued to the Exeter commissioners, it is probable that the missing words are not very incorrectly supplied.

The inventory is undated. From the heading prefixed to it, however, we learn that the commission, the text of which is not extant, was dated May 6, 1552; but it seems not to have been issued to the commissioners before June 10, the date of the instructions.

The inventory and instructions, originally separate documents, have been joined together in the Record Office, but in the wrong order, the inventory being placed first, and numbered as if preceding the instructions in point of time; an arrangement probably due to mistaking the date of the commission for that of the inventory. Reverting, then, to the right order, let us first take the instructions.

The official reference is: "Exch. Q. R. Church Goods. $\frac{1}{54}$ 6 Edward VI."

Instructions gyven by the Kings
Matie to his right trustie and
right entierly beloued cousin and
counsellour the Duke of Northumbland
and to the rest of his highnes
commissioners appointed for the survey
of churche goods wthin his mat^{s} countie
of Cumbreland the x^{t} of June an^{o} 1552
in the sixt yere of his highnes
reigne.
*ED*WARD.*

Impmis upon the receipt of the commission by any one *of the* same comissioners he that so shall first *receyve* the commission shall furthewth wth all *conve*nyent spede give knowledge to the rest

* The King's signature.

*appoynt*ed

*appoynte*d in the same commission and wth them shall *pcede* to mete and assemble wth that spede they *can for th*execution of the same comission and *instr*uccions.

Item If any of the said commissioners shalbe *so* syck or otherwise be so absent out of the *countie* for the service of the king that he cannot *wth sp*ede attend the same in that cace the rest *of the* said commissioners so that they be to the *nombre* appoynted by the commission shall not make *any dela*ye from the pceding in the same but shall *furthew^th^* allott ther sittings assembles and metings *for the* same commission as in like caces hath been *former*le mete to be used.

Item for the better and more certain pceding the *said comm*issioners shall in such caces where none *of the com*missioners be custos rotulorum of that countie *or hathe* been syns the begynning of o^r^ reigne comaund *whoever be* custos Rotulorum or their deputie or the *clerke* of the peax of those pties to bring or send unto *them* such books Registers and Inventories as hathe heretofore any wise come *to ther hands by indenture* touching the somms nombr*e and valo^r^ of any goodes* plate juells vestyment*s belles and other ornaments of* churches chappells and *fraternities And the said* Commissioners shall sep*arately enquire in each* dyocesse* wherin the same *remayn of the busshoppes* chauncello^rs^ commissaries *of the said dyocesses* in whose hands or custody *any suche books Inven*taries and Registers have *remayned and* of them they shall receiv*e the said books* Registers and Inventor*ies And the saide* Commissioners shall compare *them together* that is to saye as well such *as are in thandes of* the custos Rotulorum or his *deputie or the clerke* of the peax as of the b*ushoppes and ther ecclesiastical* officers and according to th*e best rechest and greatest* Inventory the said commissi*oners shall pcede to* make their survey and *enquiry and by the same* make the serches of the d*efaultes and wastes*

* Part of the county of Cumberland was at that time in the diocese of Chester.

that

that shalbe found And gener*ally the said comissioners*
shall not only by the *veue of the said Registers*
and Inventories but also *by any other meanes*
they can better devise *pcede to the better surche and*
inquisition of the wante *and defaulte of any part of*
the said goods plate jewills *vestements belles or other*
ornaments.
Item for the more spedy obtein*yng the said*
Inventories the said commission*ers shall have lres*
of commaundement from o^{r} pre*vey counsell to thintent*
therof wch lres the said commis*sioners shall use as*
they shall se occasion.
Item the said commissioners shall *upon survey so*
taken cause due inventaries *to be made and*
Indented of all maner of goods *plate jewills which*
as yet be remayning or *anywise furthecumyng*
belonging to any churches ch*appells and fraternities*
and thone pte of the same *they shall delyver*
to o^{r} pryvey counsell & thoth*er to those in whose*
hands the said goods plate *jewells and ornaments*
shall remayne to be k*epte safely unspoiled*
they shall also gyve good *charge and order that*
the same goods and every pte therof be at all
*tymes fur*thecummyng to be aunswered leving nevir
*the less in e*very pishe churche or chappell of common
*resort*e two or more challesses or cupps according
*to the mul*titude of the people in every such churche
*or chapp*ell and also such other ornaments as by
*ther dis*cretions shall seme requisite for the devyne
servyce in every suche place for the tyme.
Item because we be informed that in many places
great quantities of the said plate iewells belles
and ornaments be embecilled by certain pryvate
men contrary to our express comaundement in that
behalfe the said comissioners shall substantially
*and justl*y enquire and attayne the knowledge therof
*by who*se defaulte the same is and hath been and
*unto who*se hands any parte of the same is comm
And on that point the said commissioners shall have
*comaun*d that they atteyne the certain names and
dwellyng places of every parson and psons that
hathe allienated embecelled taken or caried
away of such also as hath conceiled advised and

caused

caused any parte of the said goods plate jewells *belles* vestyments and ornaments to be taken or *caried* away or otherwise embeseled And thies *psons* they shall as certainly and duely as they *can cause* to be serched and understand.
Item on full serche and enquiry wherof the saide *comissioners* foure or thre of them shall cause to *appere* before them all suche psons by whome *any the* said goods plate jewills belles ornaments *and* other the premisses have been allyenated *embesiled* or taken away or by whose meanes *or agrement* the same or any parte thereof hath *been* attempted or to whose hands or use any *pte of the* same or any pffitt for the same hath growen *and wth* such good meanes as to their discretions shall seeme best cause *them to redelyver into* the said commissioners h*andes the said goods plate* jewells belles and other *ornaments by them allyenated* or the true and iuste v*alor thereof certyfying to* o^r^ pryvey counsell the *names of all who refuse* to stand to or obey th*e comaundement for the* redelyvery and restitucion *of the same or the iuste* valo^r^ therof to thintent *the commissioners be obeyed* shall require every maner *of ayde to be given to ther* doinge in this behalf.
ffynally o^r^ pleas^r^ is that *the said commissioners* in all ther doings shall *use suche sober and* discrete maner of pceding *as theffecte of this* commission may goo forward *wth as much quyet* and as litle occasion of tr*ouble or disquyet of the* multitude as may be usin*g to that ende suche* wise pswasion in all p*laces of ther sessions as in* respect of the place and *disposition of the people* may seme to their wisd*om moste expedyent* gyving also good and *substantial order for the* staye of thinordynate *and greedy covctuousness of* suche disordered people as *have or shall goo aboute* the allyenating of any th*e premises so as* according to reason and ord*er such as have or* shall contemptuously offe*nde in this behalf may* receive reformacions as *for the qualytie of ther* doings shalbe requisite.

The

The MS. of the inventory, which consists of twenty pages, is in two different handwritings. The first goes down to the end of the word "bells" in the entry of the church of "Orton". The second, in which the rest of the MS. is written, is the clearer and better of the two.

The county of Cumberland was anciently divided into wards, so called "from the watchings and wardings that were necessary against the neighbouring incursions" (*Burn & Nicolson*, ii., 3); and it is evident that in the inventory the churches are arranged in their respective wards, which in 1552 were five in number, viz.: Cumberland, Leath, Eskdale, Allerdale above Derwent, and Allerdale below Derwent. The Leath ward entries, however, are divided into two parts, which are separated by Eskdale and the two Allerdales. This arrangement enables us, from internal evidence supplied by some of the items, to identify a few of the churches the names of which have been torn off from the original MS.

All the words printed in italics are conjecturally supplied. But no conjecture has been hazarded, the correctness of which is not almost self-evident.

The Roman numerals, indicating the pages of the inventory, do not occur in the MS.

To any one acquainted with the inventories of other counties the following will seem a very meagre catalogue of church goods. But it is to be borne in mind that, before the reign of James I., Cumberland was subject to continual incursions of the Scotch, who did not spare the churches. Hence, as we might expect, the parishes nearest the border will be seen to have been remarkable, even in Cumberland, for the poverty of their church furniture.

In copying the inventory at the Record Office I was materially assisted by a transcript of it, made by Mr. Robert Bridges, of Yattendon, who had left me little to do but to restore the original spelling, which had not been

been required for the purpose for which his transcript was made.

I have also to thank Mr. Joseph Bain, F.S.A. (Scot.), who has kindly revised the proofs both of the Instructions and Inventory, collating them with the original MS.

The official reference is: "Exch. Q. R. Church Goods. $\frac{1}{33}$ Edward VI.".

I

A just vene and pfyt inventorye of all the guds
*plate jue*lls bellis vestiments and other ornaments
within every prche churche chapell brotherheid gyld
or fraternitie in the countie of Cumbrel^{d} maide by Sr Thomas
Dacre Sr Rd* Musgrave Knights Willm Pykerynge Thomas
Salkeld Robert Lamplughe Anthony Barwis Esquiers

* Sir Thomas Dacre, of Lanercost, commonly called Dacre the Bastard, was a son of Thomas Lord Dacre and Ann Hewitt. The Priory of Lanercost and the lands adjacent were granted to him by Henry VIII, in 1543, in consideration of his "true and faithful services." He converted the Priory House into his residence, but at the death of his descendant, James Dacre, without male issue, in 1716, the estate reverted to the Crown, though other estates granted by Edward VI., passed to the heir general, Joseph Dacre Appleby, whose descendants assumed the name of Dacre. Sir Thomas was sheriff of Cumberland in the first of Queen Elizabeth, as 'Tho' Dacre sen' miles.' His arms, of eight quarterings, are in the east window of Lanercost. It is singular that he assumes the arms belonging to his legitimate half-brother, Lord William Dacre, having the Greystoke quarterings brought in by Lord William's mother, Lady Elizabeth de Greystoke; but he adds, over all, the bend sinister. It is evident he had a regular position in the family, and I fancy his father and mother were *handfasted*, according to an old northern custom, before Lord Thomas, Dacre married Lady Elizabeth. [See these Transactions, vol. i. pp. 114, 115; vol. iv. p. 508; vol. vii. pp. 223, 224].

Sir Richard Musgrave, of Edenhall, came of age 1546, and died 1555. He married Anne, daughter of the first Lord Wharton.

William Pickeringe, possibly William Pickering, fourth son of Sir James Pickering of Killington. William Pickering married Winifred, one of the three daughters and coheiresses of Sir Lancelot Threlkeld, of Threlkeld, by his wife, the Baroness Vescy, widow of John, Lord Clifford. His elder brother, James, married Elizabeth, another of the heiresses, and had a son, William Pickering, who in 23 Henry VIII., was an arbitrator, together with Thomas Dudley, of Yanwith, and Christopher Threlkeld, of Melmerby, between Guy and Hugh Machel, of Crackenthorp. From this we may imagine him to have been a lawyer, and more likely than his uncle to have been one of the commissioners of Edward VI. [See Burn and Nicolson, Pickering of Killington, and Pickering of Crosby Ravensworth, vol. i. pp. 261, 498, 506].

Robert Lamplughe probably is "Robert Lamplaugh ar" sheriff of Cumberland, 37 Henry viii, but I can't identify him further.

Anthony Barwis would be one of the family of Barwis of Ilekirk, but originally of Dearham.

Thomas Salkeld would be "Tho Salkeld ar." sheriff in 35 Henry viii, probably of Corby.—R.S.F.

Auctorisid

Auctorisid by the Kyngs ma^{ts} commission heronto datid the vith day of May in the sext yeir of his maties reign

*Cumberland Ward**

Impmis the challes of sylver
Itm iiij vestments wth the ornaments theronto
Itm ij cowpps one masse buke
Itm iiij lynne alter clothez ij cruetts of tyne
Itm one cannupe one pyke of copre and gylte
Itm one small bell one pair of censurs

Impmis the challes of sylver iiij tunaclez of sylke
Itm iiij vestements wth all ornaments pteyn ye same
Itm sex alterclothez and one corporaxe & vj vestments
Itm twoo bellez in the churche & ij small bells

*Impmis one t*yn challez iij vestyments
Itm *alter*clothez one bell

II

BURGHE BY SANDS — Impmis two sylver *challeses*
Itm iij vestme*nts*

BOWNES — Impmis one sylver cha*lles*
Itm two gret bells

ORTON — Impmis one challes of sylver
Itm ij bells one hand bell iiij alt*erclothes*
Itm ij candlestiks of brasse one cope

BANTON† — Itm iij vestements a chales of tyn

THURISBIE — Itm one chalas of silv^{r} ij vestem*ents*
Itm ij litill belles ij candilstiks of
ij towells

BEMOND‡ — Itm one silv^{r} chales ij vestem*ents*
litill belles ij candilstiks of br*asse*

DALSTON — Itm thre chalesse*z* of silv^{r}
ij tunycles one cope of satto*n*
ij pich belles one hand bell

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* The missing names of churches in this ward are Carlisle Cathedral, St. Cuthbert's (Carlisle), Aikton, Kirkbride, Rocliffe, Warwick, Wigton, Wetheral, and either Grinsdale or Sebergham.

† KIRKBAMPTON.

‡ BEAUMONT; still pronounced as spelt above.

Carlisle

III

Carlisle cathedral*

Itm too chalessez of silv^{r} xij copis sum sum grene iiij vestements wth all of *gere* therto fowre gret belles iij lytill *belles one* pare of sencers

Itm one chalas of silv^{r} wth vestements *and* all pteyning to theyme ij alter clothes towells one surpcloth ij prche belles litil belles

Itm one chalas of silv^{r} iij vestements *o*ne cope one surpcloth ij towells ij prche belles ij small belles

Itm one chalas of silv^{r} one vestement *o*ne bell

Itm one chalas of silv^{r} ij vestements one of silke another of bustenyg ij *pr*che belles ij lytill belles ij alter clothes towells one surpcloth

Itm one chalas of silv^{r} ij vestements wth *albe*s ij alter clothes one cope one cross of *latte*n a pare of censeurs ij prche belles ij *litil*l belles a holy watter fat of Leid

Leath Ward†

IV

SKELTON — Itm one chalas of one altercloth on*e* ij candilstiks of sencers ij prch bell*es*

CASTIL SOWERBYE — Itm one chales of silv*r* gere pteyning to the sa*me* prche belles ij litill belles alter clothes

EDYNHALL — Itm one chales of silv^{r} ij gere pteyning to the sam*e* ij litill belles one cope ij towells

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* For assigning this entry to the cathedral see reason given in the paper on "The Bells of Carlisle Cathedral" (*ante* p. 140).

† The Leath Ward entries occupy pp. iv., v., and are continued on pp. xvii., xviii., xix. Missing names in this ward:—Ainstable, Alston, Culgaith, Dacre, Greystoke, Great Salkeld, Hesket-in-the-Forest, Kirkland, Langwathby, Mungrisdale, Newton Reigny, Penrith, Renwick, Threlkeld, and Watermillock.

ULLISBIE* Itm one chales of silv^{r} iij *vestements*
one cope ij prche belles iij
one surpecloth iiij towells

ADDINGHAM Itm one chales of silv^{r}
iij albes ij prche belles
iiij alter clothes one
of sencers

V

*Itm one chal*es of silv^{r} ij vestements ij cops
*alter clo*thes of lyn ij prche belles ij litill belles
one surpcloth

*Itm one cha*les of tyn ij vestements ij alter clothes
*surp*clothes of lyn cloth

Itm one chales of silv^{r} one vestement ij alter clothez

Itm one chales of silv^{r} ij vestements ij prche belles ij
*lyti*ll belles one lyn towell

Itm one chales of silv^{r} ij vestements ij prche belles
one hand bell

Itm one chales of silv^{r} iij vestements vj alter clothes
*towel*s ij belles

Itm one chales of tyn ij vestements ij alter clothes
belles

Itm *ch*alesses of silv^{r} iiij vestements of silke iiij of
one cope of silk ij prch belles one hand bell

Eskdale Ward† VI

STAPPLETON Itm one chales of tyn one veste*ment*

ARTHURED Itm one chales of tyn one veste*ment*

CUMWHITTON Itm one chales of silvr ij vestements
one surpecloth ij prch belles one t*owell*

SCAILBYE Itm one chales of silv^{r} ij vestements ij
ij belles

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* Ousby :—The name of this parish is variously spelt: "Ulnesbie" on the communion cup; "Ulvesby" by Burn and Nicolson. Denton in his MS. says:—"The proper name is Ulfsby, habitatio Ulfi filii Olavi Dani."

† Missing names in Eskdale Ward:—Bewcastle, Castle Carrock, Crosby-on-Eden, Hayton, Kirklinton, Lanercost, Stanwix, and Walton.

CUMREW — Itm one chalez of silv^{r} one vestement ij belles one litill bell

BRANTON — Itm one chales of silv^{r} sex vestements alter clothes ij prch belles one hand *bell* surpcloth one silv^{r} pix

FARLAM — Itm one chales of silv^{r} ij belles *one* ij alter clothes one surpcloth *one*

NETHER DENTON — Itm one chales of tyn ij alterc*lothes*

ETHRYNGTON — Itm one chales of silv^{r} ij vestem*ents* ij litill belles

VII

*Itm one chale*s of tyn one vestement ij alter clothes bell

Itm one chales of silv^{r} one vestement one litill bell

Itm one chales of silv^{r} ij vestements ij prch belles *litill* belles

*Itm on*e chales of silv^{r} one vestement ij prch belles *one* litill bell

Itm one chales of silv^{r} ij vestements ij prche belles *one litil*l bell one surpcloth ij albes one pare of sencers of brass

*Itm on*e chales of silv^{r} ij vestements ij prch belles *one litil*l bell one surpcloth

*Itm on*e chales of silv^{r} ij vestements a gret bell j small *bell* towells

Itm one cope of satten iiij vestments ij pixes ij prche *belles one li*till bell / one chales of silv^{r}

Above Derwent† VIII

WABARTHWAIT — Itm one chales of silv^{r} ij vestem*ents* one litill bell

BOTHELL — Itm one chales of silv^{r} a co*pe* ij candilstiks ij prch belles on*e* belles iiij alter clothes a towell

† Missing names in Allerdale-above-Derwent ward :—St. Bride's Beckermet Dean, Drigg, Gosforth, Hale, Harrington, Irton, Lamplugh, Millom, Muncaster Ponsonby, and Workington.

NETHER

NETHER WASDAILL — Itm one chales of silv^{r} ij belles ij alter clothes ij towells

ESHEDAILL* — Itm iij vestements iiij alter clothes one canabie

WHITBEK — Itm one chales of silv^{r} one c*ope* ij litill belles ij vestements

WHITCHAM — Itm two chalessez of silv^{r} belles iiij vestements ii cop*is* iij towells one pare of sencers

WASDAILLHED — Itm one vestement one cha*les of* prch bell one litill bell

CORNAY — Itm one chales of silv^{r} ij co*pis* ij vestements ij prch belles ij *litill belles* one santus bell

IX

Itm one gilt chales of silv^{r} ij copis vj *vestemen*ts iij surpclothes ij alter clothes belles iij litill belles

Itm belles — chalassez iij vestements ij prche litill belles

Itm one chales of silv^{r} iij vestements *al*terclothes ij prche belles v litill belles

*It*m one chales of silv^{r} ij vestements alterclothes ij prche belles one santus *bell*

Itm one chales of silv^{r} ij vestements alterclothes ij prche belles one santus *bell* ij litill belles

Itm one chales of silv^{r} ij prche belles *vest*ements one surpclothe one alter clothe *one t*owell

X

SANT JONS† — Itm one chales of silv^{r} ij prche belles iij alt*er clothes*

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* Eskdale.
† St. John's Beckermet.

BENGHAME* Itm one chales of silv*r*
vestements ij tunycles ij
iij prche belles one santus *bell*

LOWISWATTER Itm one chales of silv^{r} ij *vestements*
ij prche belles iij litill belles
iij alterclothes

LORTON Itm two chalessez of silv^{r} vj *vestements*
one cope one surpclothe ij prche *belles*
lytill belles ij candilstiks of br*asse*
crose of brasse ij alterclothes

CHAPLE OF WEDOPE† Itm one chales of silv^{r} one *vestement*
one bell one alter clothe

EMLETON Itm one chales of silv^{r} ij
ij belles ij litill belles one
one pare of sencers one pix

XI

Itm chalessez of silv^{r} vi vestements
*tuni*cles ij grene copis vi alter clothes
*one su*rpclothe one Ratchat ij candilstiks of
*bras*se one pare of sencers iij prche belles
*one sa*ntus bell

Itm one chales of silv^{r} ij vestements one
tunycles iij alterclothes one pix of tyn
pare of sencers of brass ij candilstiks of
*bras*se ij prche belles one surpclothe

Itm one chales of silv^{r} iij vestements iij albes
*c*opis ij prche belles ij litill belles one surpclothe

Itm one chales of silv^{r} iij vestements iij albes
one cope ij prche belles ij hand belles

Itm ij chalesses of silv^{r} one vestement of
velvat one of scarlet one of Dammaske
*one sil*k vestement one say vestement one
*scar*let cope one white silke cope iij albes
*b*elles

Itm one chales of silv^{r} one vestement one albe
belles

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* Brigham.
† Wythop.

XII

DISTINGTON — Itm one chales of silv^{r} ij *vestements*
rede and grene ij albes ij *prch belles*
ij litill belles one surp*clothe*

MORSBIE — Itm one chales of silv^{r} iij *vestements*
iiij alterclothes one towell ij *prch belles*
ij hand belles one pare of sencers

SANT BEES — Itm ij chalessez of silv^{r} iij *prch belles*
ij hand belles iij Ratchetts vj *vestements*
vj banners vij copis iij tunycles ij
candilstiks

ARLEDON — Itm one chales of silv^{r} ij vestement*s*
albes one cope of satten ij prch b*elles*
ij alterclothes

CLETOR — Itm one chales of silv^{r} iij vestem*ents*
iij alterclothes ij prche belles

EGREMONT — Itm ij chalassez of silv^{r} iij *vestements*
ij tunycles ij alterclothes ij prche *belles*
hand belles ij candilstiks of brasse ij

*Below Derwent** XIII

*Itm one ch*ales of silv^{r} iij vestements
s iij alter clothes ij prche belles
one santus bell a pare of sencers

Itm one chales of silv^{r} ij vestements
*alb*es ij prch*e* belles one santus bell
*a*lter clothes one towell

Itm thre chalessez of silv^{r} iiij vestements
*t*unycles one cope iij towells iiij alter clothes
*pr*che belles iij hand belles one pare of sencers

Itm ij chalassez of silv^{r} ix vestements vj
*a*lbes iiij alterclothes iiij towells ij prche belles
*h*and belles one pare of brase sencers ij copis

Itm one chalas of silv^{r} one vestement of blak
*vel*vat one of Rede say ij prche belles ij hand
belles ij candilstiks of latten

* Missing names in Allerdale-below-Derwent Ward:—Aspatria, All-Hallows, Bassenthwaite, Bromfield, Caldbeck, Crosthwaite, Gilcrux, Ireby, Torpenhow, Uldale, and Westward.

Itm

Itm one chales of silv^{r} one vestemement
of cremysyng velvat ten other vestements
*al*bes one cope of Rede one surpclothe
*p*rche belles one santus bell ij hand belles

XIV

BOLTON — Itm ij chalesses of silv^{r}
of grene satten one al*ter clothe*
iij albes one cope of
Santus bell iij litill *belles*
of latten

PLUMLAND — Itm one chalas of silv^{r} viij *vestements*
ij albes iiij alterclothes one *fat*
candilstiks of latten ij pr*ch belles*
litill belles one pix of latte*n*

CAMMRTON — Itm one chales of silv^{r} ij *vestements*
ij alter clothes one cope of sil*ke*
belles ij hand belles one sur*pclothe*

CROSCANONBY — Itm one chales of silv^{r} ij *vestements*
one cope one surpclothe ij p*rch belles*
ij litill belles

DERHOME — Itm one chales of silv^{r}
one cope one surpclothe
ij litill belles

XV

Itm one chales of silv^{r} ij vestements
one old cope one surpcloth ij prche belles
litill belles iiij alterclothes

*Crosthwaite** — *Itm* thre chalessez of silv^{r} / at the chapells
ij chalessez of silv^{r} belongyng to the said
church / iij vestements of velvat iiij vestements
of whit silk iij alter clothes iij prche belles
iij litill belles iiij candilstiks of brasse iiij
old copis of Dammaske

Itm ij silv^{r} chalesses ij vestements of
Rede satten one of white satten one of
Rede Dammaske one cope ij prche
belles ij litill belles

* Identified by the "chapells", which must be Wythburn and St. John's-in-the-Vale in Crosthwaite parish below Derwent. The three other Crosthwaite chapelries, Newlands, Thornthwaite, and Borrowdale, are above Derwent.

Itm

Itm one chalas of silv^{r} ij vestements
one cope one surpcloth ij prche belles
*lit*ill belles

Itm one chales of silv^{r} ij vestements
*p*rch belles ij albes

XVI

ISELL — Itm one chales of silv^{r} *vestements* of cremysyng velvatt
belles one cope iiij alterclothes *candilstiks* of brasse

HOLME COLTRAM — Itm one chales of silv^{r} one
iij vestements iij copis ij tu*nycles*
alter clothes iiij towells iij sur*pclothes*
iij belles iij hand belles one *holy watter*
ffat of brasse iij latten can*dilstiks*

CHAPELL OF NEWTON — Itm one chales of silv^{r} ij ve*stements*
a small bell a sacryng bell

CHAPELL OF ST CUTHBERT — Itm one vestement one gret b*ell one*
litill bell

BRIDEKIRK — Itm ij chalesses of silv^{r}
ij copis of silke iiij albes
belles one Santus bell ij
one surpclothe ij corprax*s*
candilstik of Latten

Leath Ward

XVII

*Itm o*ne chales of silv^{r} iij vestements wth
*alb*es one cope ij candilstiks of Latten
*one par*e of sencers ij towells ij prche
belles litill belles

*Dacre** — *I*tm one chalas of silv^{r} iij vestements
wth all gere belongyn one cope of satten
surpclothes ij candilstiks of Latten
gret belles v small belles one pare
of sencers of Latten

* Identified by the item of "gret belles", two of which, of pre-Reformation date, still remain.

Itm

Itm one chales of silv^{r} ij vestements
one of bustion one gret bell ij litill
belles ij alterclothes

*It*m one chales of silv^{r} ij vestements
*on*e cope ij alterclothes ij belles
elles one litill bell

Itm one chales of silv^{r} iij vestements
*al*terclothes ij prche belles iij litill
*bell*es

XVIII

MELMORBY — Itm one chales of silv^{r} ij *vestements one*
cope iiij alterclothes ij cor*praxs*
Lent a crose of Latten a
of Latten ij surpclothes
ij candilstiks of Latten ij pr*ch belles*

HUTTON-IN-THE-FOREST — Itm one chales of silv^{r} ij *vestements wth*
gere belongyn to theyme *one*
ij towells ij prche belles ij li*till belles*
candilstiks of Latten

LASONBYE — Itm one chalez of silv^{r} iij veste*ments*
v alterclothes iij albes ij prch *belles*
ij litill belles one surpclot*he*

KIRK-HOZEWOLD — Itm ij chalessez of silv^{r} *vestements*
w^{t} albes iij copes one of
ij surpclothes x alter clo*thes*
ij candilstiks of Latten
one Santus bell vi li*till belles one holy*
watter fat of brase
of brasse

XIX

Greystoke — *Itm on*e vestement of blew velvat all pteyning
to the same for Deacon & subdecon a vestement
of blew silke all ptenyng to the Deacon & subdecon
for the same one vestement of blak chamlet
w^{t} all y^{t} belongyt to the same ij vestements
of Dornez wth all y^{t} belongith to the same
one vestement of grene satten one of blew silke
w^{t} all y^{t} belongis thame vj other vestements

---

* Identified by item of "iiij gret bells", still remaining at Greystoke, all of pre-Reformation date.

*w*t all y*t* belongis theyme / xiij copis one
of blew velvat thre chalesses of silv*r* vj
alter clothes viij towells iiij gret belles vj
litill belles ij candilstiks of brasse one pare
of sencers one ship of brasse one crose
of coppre gylt / one crose of silv*r* brokin

Penreth *I*tm ij chalessez of silv*r* w*t* coverings one
*veste*ment of white silke ij vestements of
*buste*nye w*t* albes to the same ij vestements for
ons / iiij alterclothes ij gret belles

Itm one chales of silv*r* a vestement ij
*alter*clothes one bell

XX

off wiche view and survey *the severall*
pcells aforsaid we have delyuered
Indentid to evry pson curait *and church*
wardenz of evry church and chap*ell*
Effectes of this you*r* maties com*m*ission

THOMAS DACRE
WILLM PICKERYNGE
ROBERT LAMPLUGHE
ANTHONY BARWIS
THOMAS SAL*KELD*

Among these signatures, which are autographs, we miss the name of Sir Richard Musgrave, though he is mentioned as one of the persons who made the Inventory (p. i.); and the name of the chief commissioner, the duke of Northumberland, appears only in the Instructions (*ante* p. 187).

The Inventory, though undated, may be assumed, from the dates of similar documents, to have been completed at some time during the autumn of 1552.

Its contents, as aforesaid, strikingly indicate the poverty of the county.* But it will be be observed that with few

* For contrast between Cumberland church goods and those of other counties in 1552 the reader is referred to two small books on Church Furniture in Berkshire and Hertfordshire, published by James Parker, London; from which books much valuable and interesting information may be obtained concerning the purpose of Edward VI's Inventories, and the character and uses of the goods which they enumerate.

exceptions

exceptions every church had at least its "one chales of silv^{r}". Of the 111 churches reported on by the commissioners, 80 had each one silver chalice, 13 had each two silver chalices, and four had three; three other churches had more than one, but the number in each case is missing. Eight had tin chalices, two had none at all, and in one case the metal is not specified. Nothing else of silver was in any of the churches except two "coverings" (xix), *i.e.*, cover-patens, one broken cross (xix), and one pyx (vi). There were but three other pyxes, one of which was of copper gilt (i), another of latten (xiv); the description of the thing is torn off (x). Only one church had cruets, and those of tin (i), for the wine and water used at the altar.

Of all the goods enumerated in this Inventory none now remain, except several of the bells; for reasons explaining the preservation of which see these Transactions, vol. vi., pp. 426, 442-3; vii., p. 234; viii., p. 141. The percentage of mediæval bells still extant in Cumberland is probably larger than that of any other county except Westmorland. The churches, however, in which they are chiefly found, are in parishes further from the Border than those the bells of which have as yet been described in these pages.

What became of the rest of the goods reported as belonging to Cumberland churches in 1552, will form the subject of a paper in the next volume of these Transactions.

ΕΚΚΑΙΔΕΧΕΤΗΤΙC
ΙΔΩΝΤΥΜΒΩΙCΚΕΦΘΕΝΤ
ΥΠΟΜΟΙΡΗC ΕΡΜΗΝ
ΚΟΜΜΑΓΗΝΟΝΕΠΟC
ΦΡΑCΑΤΩΤΟΔΟΔΕΙΤΗC
ΧΑΙΡΕCΥΠΑΙΠΑΡΕΜΟΥ
ΚΗΝΠΕΡΘΝΗΤΟΝΒΙΟ
ΕΡΠΗC ΩΚΥΤΑΤΕΠ
ΤΗCΓΑΡΜΕΡΟΠΩΝΕΠΙ
ΚΙΜΜΕΡΙΩΝΓΗ ΚΟΥΨΕΥ
CΕΙ....ΓΑΡΟΠΑΙCΕΡΜΗC
.....

From the Brough Stone.

ART. XX.—*The Brough Stone.** By E. C. CLARK, LL.D., Regius Professor of Civil Law in the University of Cambridge.

Read before the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, Feb. 23, 1885.

THE plaster casts now exhibited were taken from the stone by one of the first artists in that kind of manipulation. The printed slips† in your hands are copies of a reading which has been at length generally agreed upon by scholars who have examined the original or the casts.

The great points of interest in the matter are these. Here we have the most important of the very few Greek inscriptions—five or six in the whole—that have been found in Britain; a possible connecting link in palaeographic science; a personal record, with a touch of human interest in it not confined to ancient times; and a little poem, which, even in its half interpreted condition, is no contemptible addition to the Greek anthology.

I have assumed the language to be Greek. This was by no means a settled matter to those who first saw the stone or casts from it. An extremely ingenious attempt was made by Professor Stephens of Copenhagen to read the inscription as Runic. When it is remembered that the Runic characters were, according to our best authority on the alphabet, Dr. Taylor (*Alphabet* 2, 8, 8), derived from the Greek, this was not so extraordinary a suggestion as it may appear. The inscription is an epitaph, in hexameter verse, on a youth bearing the name of the god Hermes, and

† Article xvii. was printed before Professor Clark's paper came to the knowledge of the Editor. As it is desirable that this Society should have at once all that is known about the Brough Stone, the Editor, after consulting with the President, resolved not to wait until Professor Clark's valuable paper could be laid before a meeting of the Society, but to print it forthwith.

* Given as a Illustration on the opposite page.

coming

coming from the northern part of Syria, Commagene. I will, with your permission, say a few words first upon the general subject, the local surroundings, and the probable date of this monument, and conclude by interpreting the epitaph as best I can.

When we think of a Syrian youth, we are not to suppose fleecy locks and black complexion, or even what I may roughly term oriental blood. This youth's parentage may have been as pure Greek as Cleopatra's own. For Syria was a Greek kingdom, under one of the dynasties which succeeded Alexander; full, no doubt, of Greek settlers, bringing with them their literature and their religion. One of its kings indeed—Antiochus Epiphanes—had made a strong attempt, 170 years before Christ, to impose the Greek religion exclusively upon all his subjects. How he failed in Judea we learn from the book of Maccabees. That he also failed in Syria proper, we may gather from that strange developement of the national religion of the country about which we read, 170 years after Christ, in Lucian's essay or paper on "the Syrian Goddess." This very startling collection of traveller's tales, tends to identify the Dea Syria with "*Astarte*, Queen of Heaven, with crescent horns," worshipped by the Sidonians. In close juxtaposition is mentioned a *Tyrian Hercules*, older and more venerable, at least in Tyre, than the Grecian hero.

You will, I fear, be inclined to say to me ὦνθρωπε, τί ταῦτα πρὸς τὸν Διόνυσον—or rather Ἑρμῆν—what has this got to do with our Hermes? Well, I introduce the subject of the Syrian gods, not merely because the worship of these very deities in England is one of the most curious features of the Roman occupation, but because they furnish an important connecting link in the account of our present subject.

From Syria

Where soft Orontes murmurs Amidst his laurel shades

to

to Westmorland,

> Where fur-clad hunters wander Amidst the northern ice,

or, speaking in Mallet's more prosaic words, to

> Stanmore's wintry waste,

is, as the Scotch say, a "far cry." I think the first feeling on reading this epitaph is surprise at this connexion of the two extremities of the Roman empire, and wonder how a child of Commagene could find his way to Brough. In order to show you *how* he could do so, as I found the steps of proof rather interesting, I will still ask your patience for a few words on this *Brough* with the undoubtedly Teutonic name, before I come to the Greek stone.

With respect to the Teutonic name itself, I have little or nothing to say. It is merely the Saxon *burh*, a strong place, often, but not always, designating a former Roman encampment, which appears here in its Norse or Anglian pronunciation—further south as *borough* or *burg*. Brough-under-Stainmore lies on the old north road which ran from York through Borough-Bridge (or originally Aldborough) to Catterick Bridge; there it divides, one branch going directly north, crossing the Tyne at Corbridge, and the Roman wall at a station called Hunnum (now I think, nameless); the other branch bends westwards, through Bowes and Brough, to Penrith and Carlisle. These roads are shewn to be Roman, not merely by that straitness and disregard of minor inequalities which Romans roads elsewhere show, but by the repeated appearance of Roman remains along their line, including many fortified stations or camps. The camps can in most cases be identified by inscriptions discovered in or near them, or by their position on the particular line of route, with places mentioned in contemporary Roman documents, and Brough is thus shewn to be on the site of a station bearing the name of Verterae.

Brough

Brough or Verterae, is connected with the wall, not only by the direct road to Carlisle, but by another and much more romantic route. This is the famous "Maiden Way," which branches off to the north at Kirkby Thore, or more probably Appleby. It runs, with an uncompromising directness truly Roman, across the hills of which Cross Fell is the highest point, passes a camp called now Whitley Castle, near Alston, and reaches the wall at Carvoran, the Roman Magna; there it crosses the barrier, and skirting it for some time on the left, strikes off north-west for Bewcastle and Scotland. In this latter part, it is the causeway by which Dandie Dinmont escapes to his home in Liddesdale with his guest and preserver, Bertram, in the charming romance of Guy Mannering. Sir Walter Scott knew this country well, and his graceful lines on the peculiar Flora of the wall, were written very near here.

I have not, however, now to follow the fortunes of the Maiden Way, or to explain its curious name. It may mean the "fair" way (Lysons' *Cumb.* cxxxv). It may, more probably, have been the "great ridge" or causeway (Gough *cit.* by Dr. Bruce), but we have only to do with it as a road by which it is believed that a great deal of traffic passed to the North (*Bruce* 241), and as a direct connexion, interesting to us at present, between Brough, or Verterae, and Magna.

I must add however that Horsley (*B. R.* 453) made out a branch of the Maiden Way leading from Whitley Castle to Corbridge, on the principal north road—the Watling street. This Corbridge is the place in which the two other most interesting Greek inscriptions in our country have been found, one an altar dedicated to Astarte, by a priest, another to Hercules of Tyre by a high priestess.

Magna, to which I now return, was evidently a place of importance. It stood near the watershed, from which the rivers run east and west. It protected the weakest point in the line of fortification, that point where the wall was first

first, according to tradition, *thirled*, or bored through, and Thirlwall Castle afterwards erected out of its ruins.

The Roman remains at Magna, even in the time of Stukeley, were very extensive, and the name of the place may possibly have indicated its size, for, although, so obvious an explanation is generally distrusted by the antiquary, Big Camp or Camps does seem to be the literal meaning of the British name *Cair Voran*, which Magna still bears, and which appears to have been retranslated in the name assigned to the adjacent camp of *Great Chesters*.

Further, Magna was a stronghold of the worship of the Syrian goddess, and contained two altars to her honour, which directly concern us, because of the corps, the *Hamii*, by whom they were erected. One is in the library of Trinity College, and still has the inscription *Deae Syriae*. The lower part of the stone has now unfortunately peeled off, but the inscription is preserved by Camden, and shews that this altar was dedicated by the Hamii under Calpurnius Agricola, whom we know to have been in command at the wall in 163 A.D. (*Lap. Sep.* 155). The other altar, in ruder characters, and probably later (*Bruce*, 405), is now in Somerset House. It was erected by a certain Sabinian body of these same Hamii, almost certainly to be identified with an *Ala Sabiniana*, of which we read elsewhere, named, it is believed by some, after Sabina, the wife of Hadrian, by others after a general of his.

Now these *Hamii* have been attributed by several first rate authorities to that town of *Hamath* on the Orontes, now Hamah, which Antochus Epiphanes honoured or dishonoured with the name of Epiphaneia. If so, they are, I believe, almost the sole instance of an Asiatic people in the North, or even in England, and the other indications of Syrian worship which occur, besides those already mentioned, may be traced to them. I have not time to go into this interesting subject further. I can only mention the extraordinary tablet in Latin Iambic verse, containing

containing a sort of *creed* in the Dea Syria, and an altar to the Phœnician Belinus, both found at Magna, (*Bruce*, 401, 395); while at Cilurnum, where the wall crosses the North Tyne, not far off, is an interesting inscription in honour of that bad Emperor, Antoninus, who called himself Antoninus V., or of the sun god Elagabalus, whose priest he was (*Bruce*, p. 161). The inscription bears data which fix it to the year 221 A.D.: the Emperor came, as you know, from the temple of the sun at Emesa on the Orontes.

Lastly, there was a curious discovery made some years ago, at *Brough*, of certain leaden seals, undoubtedly Roman, from their bearing names of Roman cohorts and legions. They are scattered about in various collections, and I only know them from the Collectanea Antiqua of Mr. Roach Smith. It was ultimately thought that they were fastenings to bales of merchandise. They bore, as I have said, names of military bodies, to which they might belong, and on one of them was ALA. SAB. clearly referring to the body of Sabinians whom we found at Magna, belonging to the people of Hamath. These seals furnish the last connecting link between the Syrian fortress on the wall and our Verterae, to which I now return. It would be curious if Brough turns out to have been a centre of trade in those early days—lying as you see just below the central point in the wall—and still more curious if the great horse fair, which I can just remember in its palmy days, were a revival of the traffic which brought our young Hermes here,

> Inured to Syria's glowing breath

to meet his death on

> Stanemore's wintry waste.

Thus then I have endeavoured to shew, by local evidence, how

how our Syrian family, whether military or commercial, could get to Brough without any great violation of historical probability. I have no further use to make of the Syrian worship. There is no trace of it in this epigram, nor is there any trace of Christianity. The epigram is purely classical in feeling; plaintive and affectionate, but regarding the future life as simply a matter of somewhat incredulous fancy, and quite devoid of any mysticism.

With regard to the probable date of this inscription, I can give you no precise information, either based upon external or internal evidence. The Hamii do not help us. We know that they were at Magna in the latter part of the second century, but we do not know how long they staid. There is nothing to prevent their having been in the district up to the close of the Roman occupation. Other army corps had a longer settlement than that; one legion for instance (the *Secunda Augusta*) was there 350 years. In the time of the compilation of the political directory, known as the Notitia, at the end of the 4th century after Christ, the Sabinian squadron was at Hunnum, not far off Corbridge—in fact the station where the Watling street crosses through the wall—though the Hamii seem to have been replaced at Magna by another regiment (the Delmatæ). As far, however, as they are concerned this Syrian family may have been in the country at any time between the end of the second and the end of that fourth century.

On general considerations, I scarcely think this inscription can have been made before the construction of that wonderful defensive work which extends roughly speaking from Newcastle to Carlisle. The date of the Roman wall has been, as you know, sharply disputed. To myself the arguments of our chief local authority, Dr. Bruce, based mainly upon inscriptions, are conclusive. I am disposed to attribute the whole work to Hadrian, and place it in the first half of the second century

century, about 121 A.D. I admit, however, that additions or repairs may have been made, the system of roads more fully organised, and the peace of the country more securely established, by Sep. Severus. This emperor died in 211 at York, where the strangely named St. Sevĕrus' hill, in popular speech, commemorates his tomb at the expense of prosody, and adds a reputed Christian persecutor to the list of Christian saints. I do not think that this inscription can date before the comparatively peaceable and settled times following Severus—a time when there might fairly be residents with leisure to put up monuments in memory of their friends, and travellers with leisure to read them. On the other hand, I cannot consider these necessary conditions as possible of fulfilment in the rough times which follow the Roman departure. The exact year when the Britons were left to their fate, is not known. We learn from the poet Claudian, that a considerable force was withdrawn from the country by Stilicho in 403, to meet the Huns; and I believe the latest coins found are those of Arcadius, whose connexion with the West ceased in 395.

With regard to the inscription itself, I do not intend to go much into the internal evidence, as to its date, based on the characters. Dr. Bruce informs me that the stop resembling a leaf, at the end of the lines, does not occur before the time of the Antonines; but without that evidence, we should put the inscription later than those sovereigns. Two of the other Greek inscriptions found in the north, contain clearly Roman names of men and officers, and therefore cannot have been later than 400: nor, I think, for the reasons just alleged, can this inscription; but it is probably not much earlier. The letters are rude, and there is a marked intrusion of *uncial* forms amongst them, which only occur in MSS. of a much later date than that just mentioned. But Dr. Taylor is my authority (Alph. 148), that these uncial forms began to appear

appear in inscriptions long before the date of the earliest extant MSS.

The pattern on the top of the stone distantly resembles that on the altar to the Dea Syria, in Trinity Library. The stars *there* I am inclined to think *really* emblematic of the host of heaven. To *these* squares, with the radii inscribed, I attribute little meaning. The stonecutter may have been a moon worshipper; the mourner, or the author of the epitaph, was certainly a classical scholar, acquainted with Homer and the tragedians. To the stonecutter's ignorance or carelessness I also attribute the omission of the three final N's; one after EPMH in the third line of the inscription, which is not of much moment; one after BIO in the seventh, which is essential to both metre and grammar; and one, after ΓH in the tenth, which is required by sense but not necesssarily by metre. I have found similar omissions in the *Corpus Inscriptionum* at very different dates, and I do not think much can be inferred from them.

The reading before you is due to the investigations and suggestions of several scholars, among whom we must not forget our friend Mr. Browne. I have compared the original very carefully with the version which you have, and I think I can guarantee every letter except the N at the end of the third line, and the C at the end of the last. After the CEI at the beginning of this last line, I think there was possibly a *sigma*, and after that, almost certainly, an *alpha*.

The first line EKKAIΔEXETH, &c. (where the X is of course a mistake for K) has a syllable too much. I have found the word EKKAIΔEKA spelt EKKEΔEKA, and scanned as if it were EKΔEKA in an inscription of the Corpus (5699, 718 of Kaibel). I should not be surprised if our author meant to write EKΔEKA, as if *we* were to say six-twenty for six-and-twenty, but the conscientious mason inserted the KAI. He committed a converse error

to

to that of his English successor whose metrical taste required the well-known

Requiese Cat in pace.

On the reading TIC ΙΔωΝ for the previous suggestion ΠΡΟCΙΔωΝ, I have no doubt. In CΚΕΦΘΕΝΤ the stone gives no possible hope of CΚΑΦΘΕΝΤ, so that we must leave that out of the question, and choose between σκεφθείς *beheld*, which does occur, from σκέπτομαι, and σκεφθείς, *covered* or *hidden*, which does *not* occur, but would be regularly formed, from σκέπω. I am for assuming the latter form, and taking the meaning to be "hidden in the tomb." I may here remark that this translation is absolutely inconsistent with any notion of a *cenotaph*, to which, moreover, I do not think the word TYMBOC is often applied. The spelling of OΔΕΙΤΗC with the dipthong ει may be an affectation of antiquity, but I found both spellings in the Corpus Inscriptionum Atticarum at equally late periods.

We proceed then to translate the two first lines. "When some wayfarer sees Hermes of Commagene, at sixteen years hid in his tomb by fate, let him say as follows." As to seeing a person who is hidden, I suppose no one accustomed to the freedom of epitaph language will take exception to the slight bull.

In the next hexameter line lies, as it seems to me, the *crux* of the whole epigram. Yet classical usage ought not to leave much doubt about the meaning of the first words ΧΑΙΡΕ CΥ ΠΑΙ ΠΑΡ ΕΜΟΥ.

Χαῖρε undoubtedly often means Farewell! in our most recent sense; but with the dative, or this easier construction of παρα with the genitive, it is rather a word of *benediction* than *valediction*. When Achilles says χαῖρέ μοι ὦ Πάτροκλε καὶ εἰν Ἀΐδαο δόμοισι (*Il.* ψ. 179) he means "accept my blessing or my greeting, even in the halls of Hades." I do not mean to say that the notion of taking leave may not enter into the phrase, but it is not the principal

principal notion. Virgil saw this, when he divided the idea into its two parts "Salve aeternum mihi maxime Palla Aeternumque vale." (*Aen.* II. 97). "Well do I bid thee fare for evermore—aye and for evermore bid thee farewell." But the best help to the rendering of this phrase is in that beautiful chorus of the Alcestis, which I have not the least doubt the writer of this epitaph had before him. Addressing the spirit of the queen, who has just died for her husband, the chorus begins ὦ Πελία θύγατερ, χαίρουσά μοι εἰν Ἀΐδα δόμοισι τὸν ἀνάλιον οἶκον οἰκετεύοις. "With my blessing on thee mayst thou dwell in thy sunless home."

If then the first words of line three mean, as I feel sure they do, "a blessing or a greeting to thee, O boy, from me;" what can the last words Κἤνπερ θνητὸν βίον ἕρπῃς mean? βιο, in your version, of course stands for βιον, a cognate accusative after ἕρπῃς, for which construction, though somewhat bold, there is sufficient classical authority. Literally translating these words "even if thou creepest, (or "proceedest"), on a mortal life," can we say this means simply "even though thou art dead?" I do not think any Greek writer could have meant merely this, and I have been driven to two courses of interpretation, one of which, much preferring it, I have had to abandon in favour of the other. I should like, however, to mention my first view to you, as some may still prefer it to my second.

I took the καί to be a connective particle (=*and*, not *even*) and supposed the half line to refer to some continued existence of a dim semi-human character beneath the tomb. "And if thou indeed draggest on some human life." Then comes a parenthetic clause, and then, according to this interpretation, some other wish or prayer.

The parenthetic clause is comparatively easy. "Since very soon (or "all too soon") thou didst flit"—ἕπτης being

being a perfectly known form—somewhere, where being the question. μέροπες is in Homer the standing epithet of ἄνθρωποι. What it originally meant I doubt whether we yet know, but it is a very early explanation that it meant "gifted with articulate speech." In this sense, whatever the Kimmerians mean, I do not think it could possibly be an epithet applied to them. On the other hand μέροπες continually means in the Anthology as a substantive, simply *men*. That is, I believe, its meaning here, and the genitive expresses the not uncommon idea of removal from a place—"thou didst flit *from men* to the land of the Kimmerians."

The accusation ΓΗΝ seems to be required for this translation, in which case we must suppose an N to have been lost here, as after BIO. ΕΠΙ with the dative is however, though rarely, found in the pregnant construction of motion to a place and rest there.

Again referring to our author's models, I do not believe the Κιμμέριοι to be either the sons of Gomer, or the Tartars of the Euxine, or even the Cymry of our own country. I take them simply to be the poetical folk of gloom and night, amongst whom Homer places his entrance to the shades. The reason, why the youth should still be living some sort of life, is the rather pretty fancy that he had nothing like fulfilled his tale of years, when he flitted to the silent, or rather, here, the gloomy land.

Last of all, then, in line five, should come another wish, and the wish which I myself entertained was that these few and scattered letters might be read into the prayer, "Light be the turf of thy tomb;" which occurs once or twice in its Latin form S [it]. T [ibi]. T [erra]. L [evis]. on the Roman wall. The first three letters ΚΟΥ will suit for the beginning of ΚΟΥΦΟϹ "light" if the next can be regarded as a Φ; the following two are certainly ΕΥ; then, after a slight flaw at the beginning of the last legible line on the stone, comes CEIA. My suggestion was ΚΟΥΦ

ΕΥΔΗCΕΙΑϹ

ΕΥΔΗCΕΙΑC "lightly may'st thou rest;" and that some graceful reason was given for this in the remaining two half lines, where I can only make out the words ΓΑΡ Ο ΠΑΙC, and perhaps the name ΕΡΜΗC following. Whether the boy was to sleep lightly because he was young and fair, or because he was light himself, I could not say; but some such wish was I thought the end. The change, from addressing the boy, to speaking of him in the third person is by no means uncommon. I will not trouble you with a verse rendering which I made of this interpretation, but proceed to criticise it.

The fatal objections were, that the Φ of my ΚΟΥΦ' is, I am afraid, an undoubted Ψ; that there is no room for my ΔΗ before the C of the last legible line; that, of the letters after CΕΙ of the same line, while the first is probably Α, the second is not C but more like one of the tall Υ's of the inscription; and that, if this be the case, I cannot pack in before the undoubted ΓΑΡ Ο ΠΑΙC any words which will give the desired meaning.

With great reluctance, then, I have had to hark back to line 3 (7 of the inscription) and to interpret the latter half of that line thus: "Though it is but a mortal life which thou travellest (present for past)," as opposed to the immortal course of the boy's divine namesake. I find a similar play on names in the Corpus Inscriptionum, where a mortal *Helius* is clearly contrasted, in his epitaph, with the divine (Kaibel p. 285). The parenthetic clause then contains, as before, the poetical statement of death, with perhaps a little more reason for the ἔπτης didst *flit*, when the *flight* of the messenger god has been suggested. Finally, this rendering, though inferior in my mind to the other in meaning, does work in the fragmentary letters at the end fairly well. ΚΟΥ ΨΕΥCΕΙ, "And thou shalt not cheat us" (ΨΕΥCΕΙ the ordinary middle form), "or be false to thy name, after all: for the boy" (a transition to the third person, not, as I have remarked, unusual) "though not the god Hermes himself, is gone with him."

[ΑΥΤω]

[ΑΥΤω] ΓΑΡ Ο ΠΑΙC ΕΡΜΗC is the reading which I now suggest of the last legible line. The Α of the first word I consider certain, the ω probable, and the other two letters possible. A last, entirely illegible, half line is to be inferred from the appearance of something like a stop after the fatal flaw with which the inscription ends, and from the metre, which requires an additional word of two short and two long syllables. On this inscription being set in a recent examination, one of the candidates very ingeniously suggested ΕΡΜΗ ΓΑΡ Ο ΠΑΙC ΕΡΜΗC ΑΚΟΛΟΥΘΕΙ. This reading I myself should willingly accept, but I cannot make the traces of letters in the first hiatus suit. They do, I think, possibly suit ΑΥΤω. The last legible word should, according to my version, be ΕΡΜΗ, dative, rather than ΕΡΜΗC, nominative. One does not like to fall back on the easy method of suggesting a mistake of the stonecutter, though I think that is not improbable, as the word comes next to the nominative Ο ΠΑΙC. The nominative can however be construed, "For with the God himself the boy Hermes is now journeying."

I conclude with a punctuated version of the reading which I propose, and a rough metrical paraphrase.

Εκδεχετη τις ιδων τυμβω σκεφθεντ υπο μοιρης
Ερμην κομμαγηνον, επος φρασατω τις οδειτης,
χαιρε συ παι παρ εμου κηνπερ θνητον βιον ερπης,
ωκυτατ επτης γαρ μεροπων επι Κιμμεριων γην,
κου ψευσει, αυτω γαρ ο παις Ερμη ακολουθει.

Hermes of Commagene here—
Young Hermes, in his sixteenth year,
Entombed by fate before his day,
Beholding, let the traveller say :—
Fair youth, my greeting to thy shrine,
Though but a mortal course be thine,
Since all too soon thou wingd'st thy flight
From realms of speech to realm of night;
Yet no misnomer art thou shown,
Since Hermes is with Hermes flown.
{or Who with thy namesake god art flown.

NOTE.

NOTE.—I have endeavoured, as far as possible, to represent the lettering of this inscription by ordinary Greek type, in capitals. The semicircular Sigma is, I presume, sufficiently familar to all Greek scholars, and the other letters speak for themselves, with one exception. I have been obliged to use the small Omega, because the ordinary capital form is entirely different from that on the stone. Only personal inspection, however, can do justice to the letter-forms actually employed in this very interesting inscription, which will probably constitute, as I have already intimated, a missing link in paleography.

A good autotype has been taken of the stone, and impressions may be seen at the Carlisle and Kendal Museums, at the Museum of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-on-Tyne, and in the Museum of Yorkshire Philosophical Society at York.—E. C. CLARK.

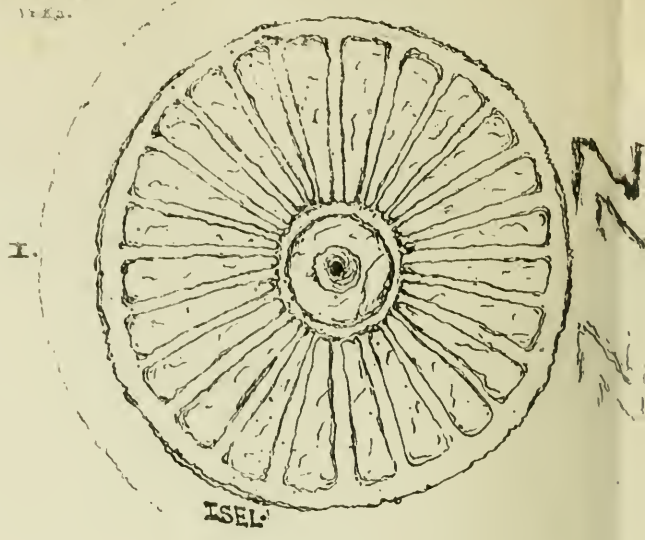
ART. XXI.—*Some Ancient Dials in the Diocese of Carlisle.* By REV. W. S. CALVERLEY, F.S.A.

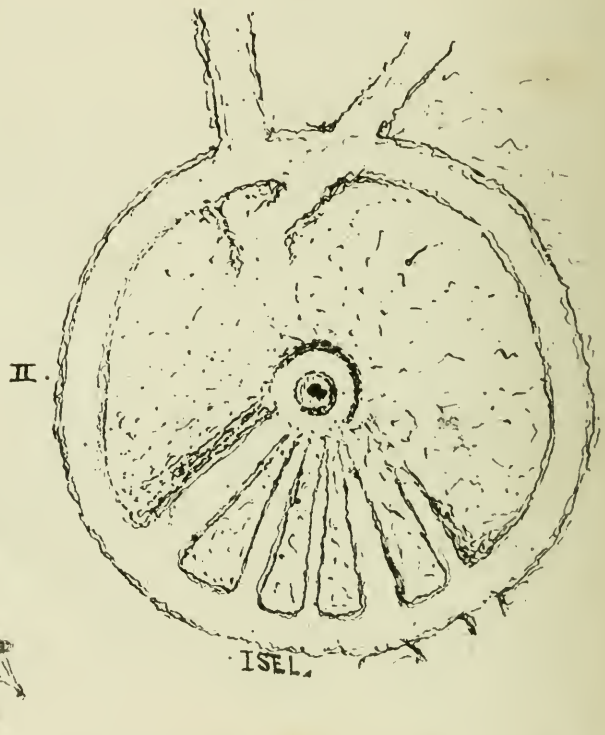
Communicated at Alston, July 10, 1884.

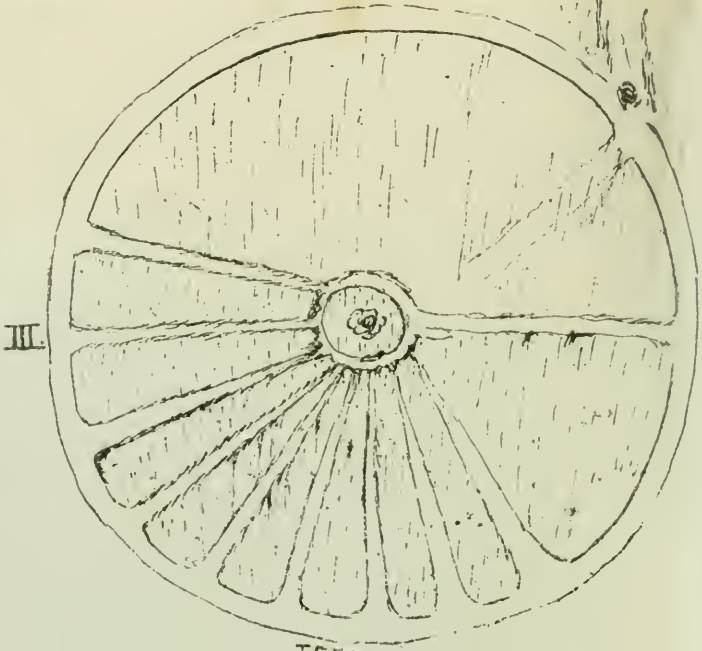
NOS. 1, 2, 3. of these drawings are intended to represent rubbings of incised dials (stone), built into the west jamb of a south window of the chancel of Isel Church, near Cockermouth, Cumberland. A rough outline drawing of part of this window accompanies these notes, and shews the position of the dial stones in the window jamb. These dials were revealed to me upon the removal of the whitewash after the late restoration of the church by the exertions of the vicar, the Rev. W. H. Sharpe, and under the directions of C. J. Ferguson, Esq., F.S.A., of Carlisle, both of whom have taken pious care of the old details of this most interesting and most ancient little church, whose wonderful history has yet to be written.

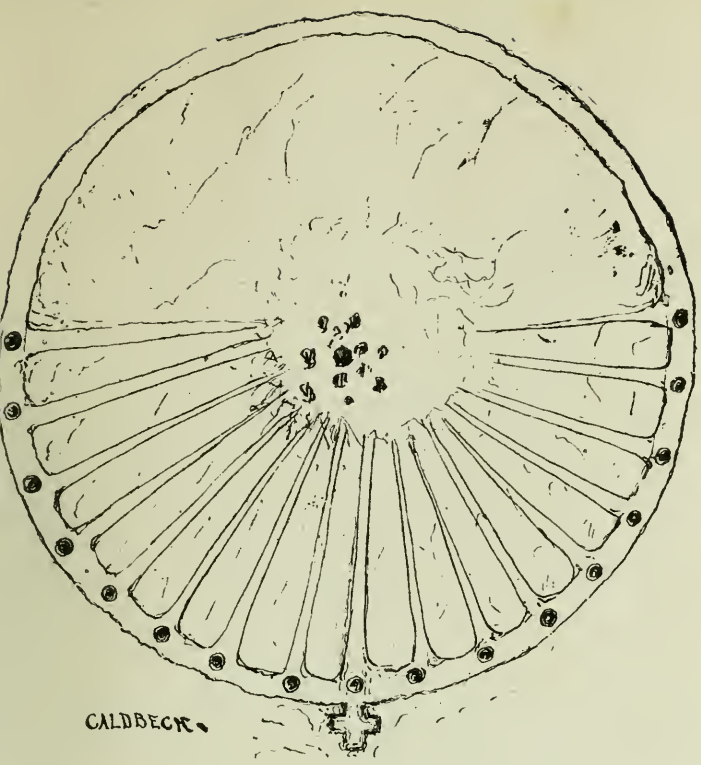
No. 1, the uppermost in the jamb, is cut in red sandstone, has *twenty-four* division marks; the letter N is clearly cut, apparently done at the time of the cutting of the dial; on the right, and beneath it, another N partially obliterated; the whole has been most carefully worked. I have marked an arrow head (*a*) to show the line of shadow falling from a pencil placed in the hollow which formerly held the gnomon, exactly at 3 p.m., July 15th, 1882. I think this dial may have been used as a horizontal dial before being placed in its present position. The N may have marked some special shadow or limit in the sun's course, and the stone may have been built into this jamb the wrong way about, in which case the two N's might mark the divisions indicated on the left of the similar dial engraved in the Reverend Daniel Haigh's paper on Yorkshire dials (*The Bottesford Dial*, Yorkshire Archæological Journal, vol. v., p. 210).

No. 2.


I.
ISEL.

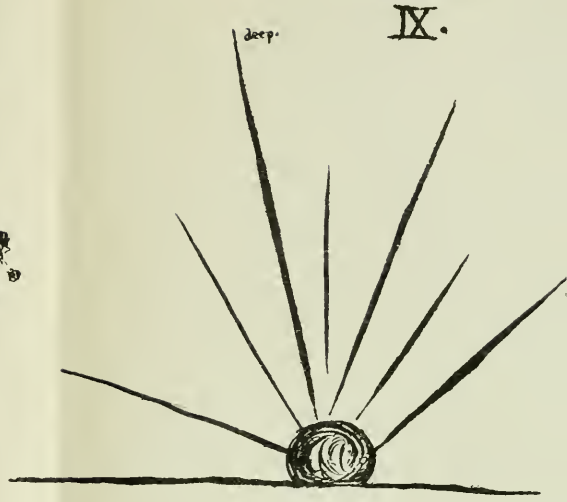

II.
ISEL.

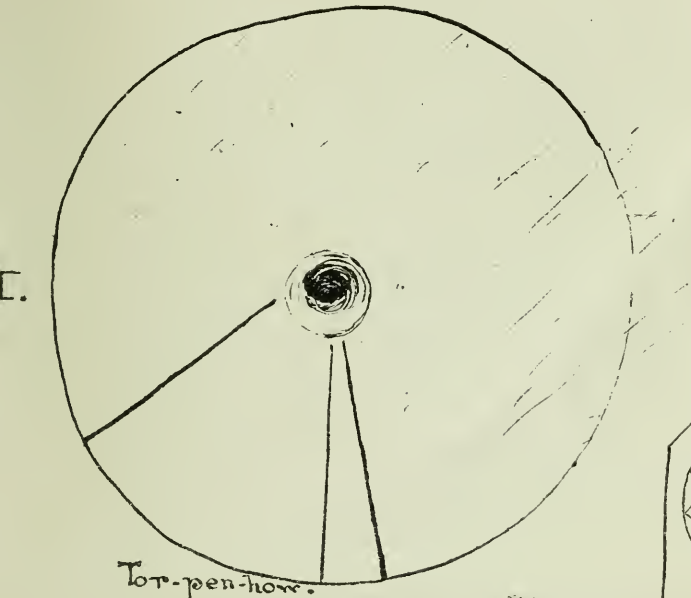

III.



CALDBECK.

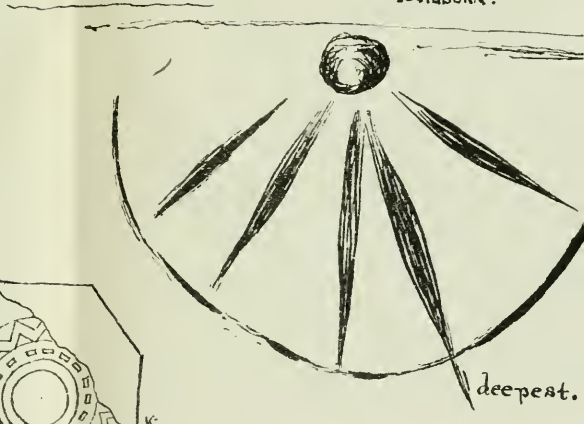
MILBURN.
IX.



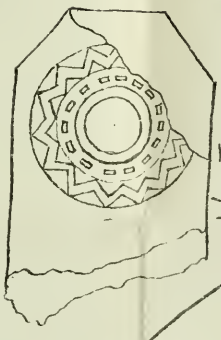


Tor-pen-how.

X.
MILBURN.

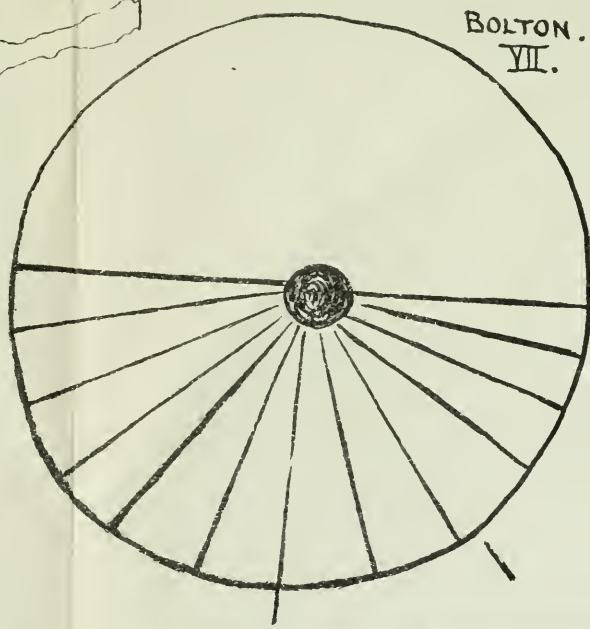


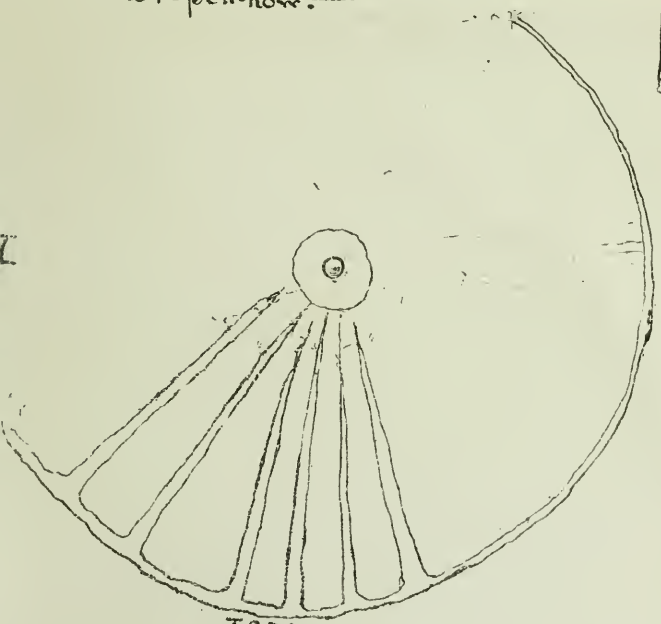
deepest.



Kirk = Oswald
VIII.

BOLTON.
VII.





ISEL.

No. 2. The lithographs have been taken from full sized facsimilies of rubbings. I offer no opinion as to the mark across the upper part of the circle, or the nearly obliterated N to the left and opposite the ray which would mark about 9 a.m. The arrow head (*a*) on the outline drawing marks 1 p.m.

No. 3. At the point (*b*), outline drawing, an iron nail has been driven into the circle. The rays appear to mark from 6 a.m. to 3 p.m. and 6 p.m.

No. 4 is cut on the east jamb of the west doorway. Part of the circle is not visible, and some of the rays are scarcely traceable. They appear to have marked the hours between 9 a.m. and 3 p.m. A porch has been built over this doorway.

I take these three last-named dials to have been used to mark canonical hours, and shall refer to the numbers as marking types.

No. 5 is cut on a stone built in the wall, to the east of the lintel of the priests' doorway, in the south side of the chancel of Caldbeck Church. The stone has been removed from some other window or door, or other place, and put in its present position when the lancet window was restored. I first discovered it on the visit of this Society, August 23, 1883. This is a most remarkable and interesting dial, and I hope this notice of it may lead to further profitable research. The circle is clearly cut, and each ray in the lower half is marked by a round hollow drilled into the stone. In the centre remains still the iron of the gnomon, which has been broken off; the lead which has been rammed well around it to keep it in its place, has nails hammered into it. The centre ray, downwards, proceeds beyond the circle and takes the form of the cross. To the right, outside the circle, are four drill marks which remind one of the N on the Isel dials. To the left also may be seen one of these round drill holes, which appears to be of the

the same date as the dial and intended for some real purpose. The number of rays and stops is *seventeen*, but one ray is evidently marked *beyond* the diameter as in No. 3, making the number of divisions in the real half circle *sixteen*, in the whole "day-night" thirty-two, and thus bringing us into contact with the "octaval system" of "time division" common among the Angles (Yorkshire dials p. 159). in which daynight is divided into eight equal parts, subdivided into sixteen, and again subdivided into thirty-two.

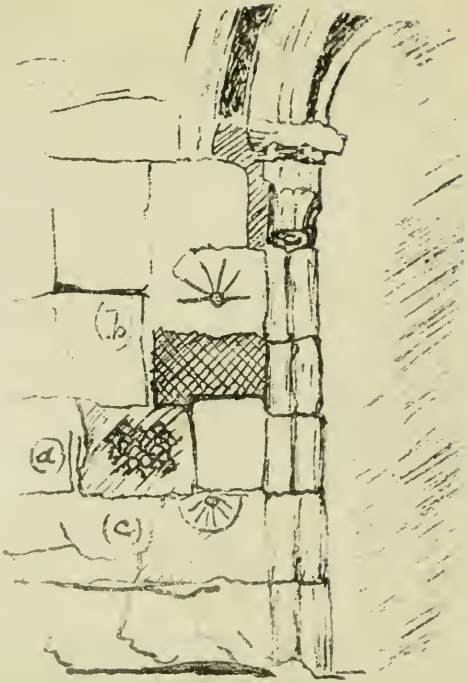
No. 6 was discovered by me after the restoration of Torpenhow Church by Mr. Cory, the Rev. C. H. Gem being vicar. Both vicar and architect have spared the holy relics, and treasured them carefully, or this strange witness of old times could never have been seen. Here has stood an old church before the days of Norman conquerors. The walls of this old church have been partially removed, and a south aisle added; and the building stuff of the original wall has been again used for the new south wall of what is now a very ancient aisle, and so it has come to pass, that *inside* the church, between the two square windows of the south aisle, and two and a half feet west of the top of the more eastern one of the two, you may see the traces of a dial which was once cut on the *outside* of the church, and served to guide, perhaps, our earliest Christian *fore-gangers* in the matter of the hours of divine service. At the restoration of this church, the workmen left the stone bare of plaster and whitewash, and pealed it off so tenderly that the rays of this tell-tale dial have not been chiselled out of recognition.

No. 7 is from a drawing by J. G. Goodchild, Esq., and is built into the south face of Bolton Church, Westmorland. South-west angle. This is not its original position.

No. 8 is also from a drawing by Mr. Goodchild, and was found buried in the wall of the north aisle of Kirkoswald Church,

ISEL.

SCALE 1/16



MILBURN.

Church, 1879. It is a stone 4 inches thick, 10½ inches broad, and 15½ inches high. The number of divisions, fifteen, seem to preclude the idea of its having been intended to represent a dial: if there had been sixteen such divisions the resemblance would have been very striking between it and the representation of the construction on the Mull mountain in the parish of Rushen, Isle of Man, figured p. 159 of Mr. Haigh's Yorkshire dials, and in which the sixteen divisions of "day-night" are marked by parallelograms of four stones each, similar to the parallelograms round the centre of No. 8, and in which only the Maypole as a gnomon is required in the centre. If No. 8 were thus divided into sixteenths, the zig-zag border would subdivide the circle again into thirty-two parts, and we should have another testimony to the use of the octaval system of time division at *Kirkoswald*. But the stone may be a memorial slab. It is worth careful preservation in any case. Possibly the divisions *are* sixteenths.

Nos. 9 and 10 end our illustrations, and no doubt they might, with profit, be added to; and I venture to ask all readers to be on the look out for dials such as these, which are only likely to be found near the site of pre-Norman churches or buildings, though they may have become parts of more modern structures. 9 and 10 are built into the west jamb of the west doorway of Milburn Church. I have produced a rough outline drawing of this doorway from a drawing by Mr. Goodchild, and in it may be seen something of the character of the walling. At (*a*) the face of the square walling stone is ornamented by a rude diaper pattern, plainly taken from a former building, and used here as building stuff. At (*b*) is a very early dial *upside down*. No. 9. Its alternate rays being more deeply cut and longer than the intermediate rays, as though the greater time divisions had here once been sub-divided. The stone was a good one and the mason made use of it when he inserted

inserted this transitional Norman doorway, as he also used the carved diaper work at (*a*), and no doubt any other useful stones which came to hand. Luckily the quiet sculptures on these stones did not protrude sufficiently to excite his wrath, and so they got built in face outwards; whereas a thousand others have been scabbled past recognition, or built with their faces inwards, bedded in lime, and buried alive. Below, at (*c*), is another *removed* dial, for it is too low to allow us to think that this was its original place. It is No. 10. Right side up, much like the upper one, its rays vary in depth, the one which should probably mark about one o'clock, appears to have crossed the circle, but as this stone has been re-cut to form the second coign from the foundation of the jamb, we cannot be certain that this ray now marks the hour it was first intended to mark, nor indeed that the mark beyond the circle is in this case a part of the dial at all.

At Dearham Church there is a doorway of the same character, and on either side, on the noble coign stones, are the traces of dials similar to Nos. 2 and 4. The porches are additions in every case of a much latter date.

At Newton Arlosh, where is no porch, traces of the dial are found on a stone in the east jamb of the west doorway. Worked freestone.

Of any other really ancient dials in the diocese of Carlisle, I should be glad of information. There must be many unknown as yet, and each find may prove of great historical value.

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